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EVALUATION REPORT

ON WORKING OF COMMUNITY PROJECTS AND N. E. S. BLOCKS

Vol. I

APRIL 1957

PROGRAMME EVALUATION ORGANISATION
PLANNING COMMISIOSN

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THE FOURTH EVALUATION REPORT

ON WORKING OF COMMUNITY PROJECTS AND N. E. S. BLOCKS

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PLANNING COMMISSION

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PREFACE

The Programme Evaluation Organisation is now in the fifth year of its operation, and this is the fourth Report that it is issuing.

Meanwhile, there has been a rapid expansion of the Community Development and National Extension Service programmes in the country. These now cover nearly 200,000 villages, and are expected to cover the entire country by 1960-61. With this, the work of the Programme Evaluation Organisation is bound to increase and also its responsibility. To enable it to cope with this increased work and responsibility, the Planning Commission have re-organised the Programme Evaluation Organisation and created a Programme Evaluation Board under the direction of which they have now placed the Programme Evaluation Organisation.

The Programme Evaluation Board is to have full responsibility of planning the work of the Programme Evaluation Organisation and its staff. A non-official economist has been appointed as the first Chairman of the Board and entrusted with the responsibility of planning and guiding the work of the Organisation and taking responsibility for its Evaluation Reports. The present appointee continues to retain his non-official status, and will carry on this work in addition to his duties as Professor and Director in the Delhi School of Economics.

In their Resolution of the 7th December, 1956, creating the Programme Evaluation Board, the Planning Commission have stated:

> During the Second Five Year Plan, it is proposed that the organisation of the national extension service will spread over the entire country and that not less than 40 per cent. of the national extension blocks will be converted into community development blocks where more intensive work will be undertaken. The Plan envisages that national extension and community projects should be developed as an effective common agency for carrying out all rural development programmes with the fullest cooperation and participation of the people. With the progress of land reform, cooperation, village and small industries and with the rapid pace of urban and industrial development, fundamental changes which are already taking place in the countryside are likely to be further accelerated. It is of the utmost importance that social and economic changes should be analysed objectively as they occur and the effects of economic development on different sections of the rural population observed at first hand.

It is now for the Programme Evaluation Board to analyse objectively the social and economic changes taking place in rural India and assess the effects of economic development on different sections of the rural population observed at first hand.

V. K. R. V. RAO,
Chairman, Programme Evaluation Board.

NEW DELHI;
The 22nd April, 1957

INTRODUCTION

The primary objective of the Evaluation Reports is to draw attention to some of the more significant developments connected with the Community Development and National Extension Service programme during the year. The report is based primarily on observations currently made in the field and detailed investigations by the Project Evaluation Officers in their respective Evaluation Centres. These have been supplemented by studies of some 2 to 4 additional blocks by the PEOs. in their respective States. Use has also been made of observations made during tours by senior officers of the organization and by the Chairman of the Programme Evaluation Board.

This year has seen the completion of the first series of the Community Projects started in 1952-53 and their transformation into what are called 'post-intensive' blocks. After a period of intensive development of 3½ to 4 years, these areas are now being normalised and placed on the P.I.P. (*i.e.*, post-intensive phase) pattern, which is expected to continue indefinitely into the future. It is, therefore, but appropriate to take stock of the position at this stage, and attempt an assessment of achievement, both in physical terms and in terms of behaviours and attitudes, of these completed community projects. It is not only a question of trying to find out what has been accomplished; it is also one of trying to ascertain what permanent results have been achieved and what the impact of the programme is likely to be on change, growth, and development in India's rural economy. It should also be useful to give us guidance for a better direction of the movement in the future. Incidentally, it will also enable us to get acquainted with the problems of transition from intensive development to normalisation—a phase of the programme which is going to confront the country now every year for a number of years till the whole country gets covered by 'post-intensive' blocks.

This assessment has been based not so much on the general evaluation reports furnished by the P.E.Os., but more specifically on two special studies initiated for the purpose by the Organization. The first of these studies, involving a quick survey of a large sample of villages (15 to 20 per cent.) in the project areas, was designed to observe the physical accomplishments of the programme in these villages and determine their current status. The second study is based on a much smaller number of villages (3 in each project area) but involved intensive and qualitative observations designed to throw light on some aspects of the social and economic change in these villages resulting from the programme. In addition, use has also been made of special reports prepared by PEOs. on some aspects of the programme as co-operative societies, cottage industries, social education, and loans programmes. It must be added that, except for the special enquiries conducted by the P.E.O. in 1954, *viz.*, the Bench-Mark Survey and the Acceptance of Practices Enquiry, no statistical data is available on the subject of the number or proportion of families covered by the programme.

The Report is divided into two volumes and each volume into two parts. Part I of Volume I contains our general assessment of the Community Development programme, review of the problems it raises and some suggestions for dealing with the same. Part II contains a more detailed statement of some aspects of the Community Development programme, together with a Chapter on the results of the coverage study. Volume II contains in its first part a more detailed statement on the results of the Coverage Study with supporting statistical tables, and in its second part, a selected number of P.E.Os.' reports on social and economic change in their areas.

PART I

ACHIEVEMENTS AND PROBLEMS OF THE COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMME

CHAPTER I: TRANSITION TO THE POST-INTENSIVE PHASE

It is best to begin by taking a quick look at the problems of transition posed by the completion of the first series of community projects. Most of these got transformed into the post-intensive programme blocks from 1st October, 1956, though a few made the change even earlier, *viz.*, between April and June of 1956. In all cases, however, the unspent balances from the project period were allowed to be spent till the end of March, 1957, so that the full force of the change was not felt by the areas concerned during this year. The project staff, however, felt the full effect of the change, as in all cases, the P.I.P. pattern of staff had taken the place of the old community project pattern.

The last year of operation of the community projects, in most cases ending with September, 1956, saw an intensification of activity mainly directed towards expenditure. Thus, of the Rs. 849 lakhs sanctioned for the 13 community projects (having 3 blocks each) and the 4 community blocks forming the Evaluation Centres of the P.E.O., the amount spent during the period 1st April, 1955 to 30th September, 1956 was Rs. 328 lakhs, as against Rs. 339 lakhs spent during the three preceding years. In other words, the 18 months of April, 1955—September, 1956, saw an expenditure of practically the same amount as that in the preceding 30 months. The budget provisions for these areas had been comparatively large and due to the initial difficulties of making a start, expenditure had been comparatively low during the first two years. The third year, therefore, saw a large accumulation of unspent balances. The natural result was a great spurt in expenditure in the fourth year, with a view to exhausting the balances before the end of the project period. A larger number of works were, therefore, sanctioned and either got completed or remained under construction by the end of the project period. The result was that during the last year of the project period, which was also the year immediately preceding its transformation into the P.I.P. pattern with a much smaller budget, proved to be a period when construction dominated the thinking and activity of the project staff, including the Grama Sevaks; and extension failed to emerge from the backseat to which it had been relegated even earlier.

The transition to the P.I.P. pattern, therefore, was sharp and sudden. In some cases from 1st April and in the others from 1st October, the new staff pattern came into force and along with it the new budget. The Project Officer disappeared and the A.P.Os were replaced by B.D.Os. and additional B.D.Os. were appointed in cases where the project area was divided into more than three blocks. The high powered technical staff formerly attached to the project either disappeared or reverted to their parent departments, the blocks now being expected to get technical guidance from their

counterparts at the district level. The number of Grama Sevaks was halved and their individual charges doubled. The amount placed at the disposal of the block staff was reduced to what appeared to be the miserably low figure of Rs. 30,000 a year, and there was no provision for loans. It is not surprising, therefore, that the block staff, most of whom had functioned with large funds under the old projects, now found themselves filled with a sense of frustration and many of them did not quite know how to spend their time. Construction work was no longer there to keep them busy; and they had not yet come to appreciate their role in extension work. Inactivity or what largely appeared to be so, succeeded the intensive activity of the last days of the project period; and sharply focussed attention on what the P.E.O. Reports had always been laying stress, *viz.*, the role of extension in C.D. and NES work.

This period of inactivity and attendant loss of dynamism was aggravated by the time taken in getting the new set-up and arrangements going. Thus, in many projects, the staff were not in position when the P.I.P. blocks were inaugurated in October 1956. In one project area which had been converted into 8 P.I.P. blocks, the B.D.Os. were all there, but of extension officers, there were only 3 in agriculture, 3 in co-operation, 5 in social education (men), 4 in social education (women), and none in animal husbandry. The number of Grama Sevaks was only 54 as against a required complement of 80. Added to this was the fact that even the restricted budget did not arrive in time. In many projects, as several months elapsed before sanctions to the new budget could be received, these months became periods of virtual inactivity and stagnation. The delays involved in this transition from one administrative arrangement to another are indeed likely to grow in future with the three-tier-pattern* into which the C.D. and N.E.S. work is now being divided; at the same time there is no gainsaying the discontinuity they cause in field operations and the consequent adverse psychological repercussions they create on the rural mind, which has still to attain a full sense of security and confidence in its dealings with Government. The need for ensuring orderly transition and particularly of eliminating the transitional periods of inactivity can, therefore, hardly be over-emphasised. What is probably required is better pre-planning and a more rational correlation of requirements to resources than perhaps has been shown so far in drawing up the C.D. and P.I.P. programmes.

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*The three-tier-pattern referred to does not apply to the original Community Development blocks; in their case, it is only a two-tier-pattern, *viz.*, first the C.D. block, and then the P.I.P. block. It is only in the case of the others that the three-tier-pattern applies viz. first the N.E.S. block, second the Community Development block, and third the post-intensive programme. The staffing pattern in regard to all these three is more or less the same, especially in regard to V.L.Ws. and the general block level staff, some difference being found in the subject matter specialist staff. The major difference lies in their budgets, especially the provision that is made for construction and irrigational works, grants for social activities, and porvision for loans. The C.D. pattern with a budget of Rs. 12 lakhs for 3 years is best off in this respect, the N.E.S. pattern with Rs. 4 lakhs for 3 years is less well off, and the P.I.P. pattern with a budget of only a little more over Rs 2. lakhs, and no provision for loans is the worst off.

Budget Provisions

There is a big difference between the P.I.P. budget and the C.D. budget which it has replaced. The budget provision for a P.I.P. block, including staff and other expenditure, comes to a little over Rs. 2 lakhs for three years as compared to nearly Rs. 22 lakhs per block in the 1952-53 series and Rs. 12 lakhs in the present C.D. blocks. It is not correct, however, to infer from this an equally big fall in development expenditure in the P.I.P. areas. In the first place, the 1952-53 series of community projects accounted for much larger areas and populations than the individual P.I.P. blocks into which they are now divided; the fall in *per capita* expenditure in the P.I.P. block, therefore, is much less than that in the expenditure per block. The extension of the project period in most cases to 4 to 4½ years and the short fall in expenditure remaining in spite of this extension also go to reduce the disparity between comparable C.D. and P.I.P. figures. A second factor which has to be taken into account is that a number of works constructed from project funds, *e.g.*, schools, hospitals, dispensaries etc., were being also maintained from project funds during the project period. With the conversion of the project areas into P.I.P. blocks, the maintenance charges are now being taken over by the regular departments, expenditure on these thus continues to be incurred in the block areas even though it does not constitute a part of the block budget. More-over, a part of project expenditure really represents expenditure on State irrigation works and electrification etc., incurred by regular Government Departments according to their own programme in the Second Five Year Plan from funds transferred to them by the project authorities; it should not, therefore, be included in the former for purposes of comparison with the P.I.P. areas, therefore, there is not such a large difference in the expenditure incurred on rural development as may appear from a simple comparison of community project and community development budgets with P.I.P. budgets.

There is, however, one fairly substantial difference that operates to the disadvantage of the post-intensive blocks. This is the non-availability of medium term loan funds in the post-intensive phase. In many project areas, these loan facilities were availed of by the cultivators for works of agricultural improvement, and they had become accustomed to this facility. With the coming of the post-intensive phase, their need for this type of loan will grow rather than diminish; and it is not realistic to expect that the co-operative medium would develop sufficiently rapidly to take over the satisfaction of this need in the near future. The matter is especially urgent in view of the stress laid on increasing agricultural production in the Second Five Year Plan. If, therefore, there is not to be an abrupt set-back to development effort in the P.I.P. areas, it is necessary to make some provision for medium term loans in the P.I.P. budget.

While, therefore, the difference made to development expenditure in the post-intensive phase areas is not as great as appears at first

sight (with the exception of the provision for medium term loans), the fact remains that as far as the block staff are concerned, there is a very real and substantial fall in the volume of funds at their disposal for direct administration on development purposes in their areas. When this fact is taken in conjunction with the tradition of spending and construction activity that has grown up round the project staff, it is not difficult to understand the unhappy feeling that has overtaken most of the block staff who have succeeded the project staff, and especially the Grama Sevaks who now have larger charges of area and population and practically no resources directly to meet the requirements of their charges. It is high time, therefore, the role of the Grama Sevak was re-examined in the light of the P.I.P. programme.

CHAPTER II: ACHIEVEMENT IN COVERAGE BY VILLAGES AND BY ITEMS

In terms of programme, the Coverage Enquiry related to 41 items, dealing with different aspects of rural social and economic activity. A detailed list of these items is given at the end of this volume. In the 702 villages from the 17 evaluation centres that were surveyed for the purpose of assessing physical achievements, it was found that there were practically no villages which had not been covered by one or other of these 41 items. Thus, it was found that 63·1 per cent. of the sample villages had been covered by 5 to 14 items, 11·4 per cent. by 1 to 4 items, and 24·5 per cent. by 15 to 24 items. Less than 1 per cent. claimed 25 items and more. Among the sample villages, more than 63 per cent. in all but one of the centres had items either between 5 and 14 or 15 and 24, Kolhapur (Bombay) and Pusa (Bihar) topping the list with 63·4 and 55·3 per cent. respectively of their sample villages in the latter category. While too much should not be read into these figures in view of the differing importance of the individual items contained in the programme and the absence of data on their coverage by individual families, they nevertheless show a substantial measure of achievement in terms of programme items as such.

When we analyse the figures by individual items in the programme, there is a greater degree of variation in achievement. The most successful item in terms of coverage is that of improved agricultural practices, no less than 95 per cent. of the sample villages having been covered by one or other of the items of improved agricultural practices, sample villages in 11 project areas having a coverage of 100 per cent. Use of improved seed alone was reported from 89·1 per cent. of the sample villages, that of manaures and fertilizers from 87·9 per cent. and that of improved methods of cultivation from 60·0 per cent.; while villages reporting all the three items accounted for 57 per cent. of the sample. If all the cultivator families in these villages had adopted these improved practices, progress would indeed have been phenomenal and more than revolutionary. This of course is not so, nor is data available

on the extent to which it is not so. Even the coverage by villages, however, which means that at least one cultivator family in that village had been affected, is big enough to justify the country in feeling that change has really begun in rural India.

If we take the other items relating to agriculture, especially those involving investment, we find that coverage even by villages is not so satisfactory as can be seen from the following statement:

TABLE I

Per cent. of sample villages covered

Item	Percentage of sample villages covered	Coverage by Projects		
		No.	Maximum	Minimum
Irrigation	38·8	16	93·3	2·3
Land Reclamation	23·1	8	84·6	2·3
Soil Conservation	11·8	3	81·7	19·1
Consolidation of holdings . . .	18·5	6	97·2	5·1

The highest percentage of coverage of sample villages was in Rajpur (Madhya Pradesh) for irrigation, Bhadson (Punjab) for land reclamation, Rajpur (Madhya Pradesh) for soil conservation, and Batala (Punjab) for consolidation of holdings. The wide variation in coverage by sample villages as well as the restricted number of projects/blocks covered in all cases except irrigation, was due partly to differences in natural conditions, partly to levels of previous development, and partly to magnitudes of non-project input in respect of some of these items. All the same, there is a real difference in coverage, which does indicate different levels of achievement in this important sector of the community development programme.

Construction work of all kinds was the next most universalized item, 78·6 per cent. of all the sample villages being covered by this programme, with Pusa (Bihar) topping the list with 100% and only seven of the project areas being below the overall average. Here again, we find that the performance is not so satisfactory, when

we break up the construction activities by categories, as can be seen from the following statement:

TABLE 2

Item	Percentage of sample villages covered	Coverage by Projects		
		No.	Maximum	Minimum
Kutcha roads	36·9	15	90·2	3·5
Pucca Roads	9·4	11	34·5	4·0
Drinking water wells	44·4	17	100·0	12·7
School Buildings	27·6	17	66·7	2·6
Culverts	21·7	15	87·2	2·6
Drains	13·0	11	47·9	0·0

With the exception of *pucca* roads and drains, practically all the community projects or blocks are covered by these items; drinking water wells and *kutcha* roads being the most popular items. Topping the list are the project or block areas of Kolhapur (Bombay) for *kutcha* roads, Erode (Madras) for *pucca* roads, Pusa (Bihar) for drinking water wells, Cachar (Assam) for school buildings, Pusa (Bihar) for culverts, and Batala (Punjab) for drains. While variations in these items are partly due to natural causes, the major causes are likely to be differences in project staff initiative and extent of public cooperation.

The community projects and blocks, have a large provision for loans for irrigation, other agricultural improvements, rural arts and craft etc. While the total budget allotment for loans in the 17 centres was Rs. 374 lakhs, the amount actually spent was Rs. 257 lakhs. Of this amount, a part was handed over to the State Governments for being spent directly by them on development, while only a part was disbursed by the project staff for direct expenditure in their areas. Data is not available for distinguishing these different types of disbursement. Subject to this, it is interesting to note that the percentage of disbursement was highest for housing, being 96 per cent. of allotment, while the corresponding figures for Agriculture and Animal Husbandry, Irrigation, Reclamation, and Rural Arts and Crafts were 67 per cent., 71 per cent., 54 per cent. and 47 per cent. respectively. In the case of loan disbursements also, there was considerable variation by centres, as can be seen from the following table:

TABLE 3

Loan disbursement by blocks	No. of blocks
Between 29 and 40%	3
Between 41 and 60%	2
Between 60 and 80%	4
Between 80 and 95%	6

Two centres, *viz.*, Rajpur (Madhya Pradesh) and Lower Bhavani (Madras) had 95 per cent. and 91 per cent. respectively.

Coverage of villages by the cottage industries programme was quite low, the overall average for all the sample villages being only 17·5 per cent. 3 of the 17 centres did not report any programme at all under this head, while the number of reporting centres with coverage below the average was as many as 8. Among the individual centres, maximum coverage was reported by Manavadar, (Bombay). (66·7 per cent.) and Kolhapur, (Bombay) (56·1 per cent.), while minimum coverage was reported by Nizamsagar, (Andhra) (3·8 per cent.) Pusa, (Bihar) (4·3 per cent.) and Ashta (Madhya Pradesh) reported a coverage of 2·6 per cent. The position regarding this item in the programme was thus quite unsatisfactory.

When we come to institutional programmes, it is difficult to use the data regarding schools, cooperatives and *panchayats* for assessing the achievement, partly because of absence of data on newly started units and partly because of significant differences in their pre-project position. The same difficulty, however, does not confront us in the case of institutions which did not exist in the pre-project period. These are mainly connected with social education and can, therefore, be definitely linked with the project programme. Here we find that coverage by villages is well below that for agriculture and construction programmes. Some figures bearing on this are given below:

TABLE 4

Item	Percentage of sample villages covered	Coverage—by project		
		No.	Maximum	Minimum
Youth clubs	25·4	17	57·1	2·6
Women's organizations . .	8·1	12	31·7	2·6
Community centres . . .	18·0	11	48.9	3·9
Adult literacy centres . .	38·6	15	93·2	7·9

Here, undoubtedy, the variation must be due to differences in project staff initiative, techniques of promotion, and extent of public response. Topping the list are Sonepat (Punjab) for youth clubs, Kolhapur (Bombay) for women's organizations, Pusa (Bihar) for community centres, and Manavadar (Bombay) for adult literacy centres.

From the point of view of coverage of villages, then, the most satisfactory performance is in respect of improved agricultural practices and the least satisfactory in respect of cottage industries and social education programmes. Construction work of one kind or another is found in practically all the villages. Among the villages covered by all these programmes, however, there are startling differences between those which are Grama Sevak headquarter villages, those which not headquarters but are easily accessible and those which are not so easily accessible; and these differences seem

to follow a somewhat consistent pattern in respect of most of the items covered by the programme in these villages. A longer treatment of this question is given in Chapter XVI of this report, while a more detailed treatment is given in Vol. II. Given below are the summary figures, which illustrate the differences in coverage between these different categories of villages:

TABLE 5

Item	Percentage of sample village covered in respect of		
	Grama Sevak Headquarters	Villages easily accessible	Villages not easily accessible
Improved agricultural practices	99·3	95·1	90·7
Irrigation	54·9	33·8	36·1
Reclamation	23·6	21·2	6·3
Soil Conservation	14·6	10·7	11·9
Consolidation of holdings	18·1	25·8	5·2
Kutcha roads	42·4	39·6	27·8
Pucca roads	17·4	8·5	3·6
Drinking water wells	62·5	42·6	34·5
School buildings	43·1	22.0	26.8
Culverts	36·1	21·2	11·9
Drains	20·8	15·4	2·6
Youth clubs	45·1	23·1	15·0
Women's organizations	23·6	5·2	2·1
Community centres	38·9	14·3	9·3
Adult literacy centres	32·1	34·3	36·6
Cottage industries	36·8	12·9	11·9
Production-cum-training centres	9·0	2·2	1·0
Demonstration plots	77·8	55·5	44·3

It is perhaps inevitable that greater attention is paid by the Grama Sevak to his headquarter village and least attention to villages which are comparatively inaccessible. Nevertheless, this is causing a somewhat uneven distribution of the benefits of the development programme among different villages; and as consciousness slowly penetrates to the outlying villages and their demand becomes vocal, it gets to be time for the project to close down. This is particularly important in those projects where inaccessible villages constitute a high percentage as in Morsi—Bombay (69 per cent.) and Bhadrak—Orissa (62 per cent.). This is certainly not a

satisfactory situation and needs to be attended to both in the post-intensive phase, as well as in the community blocks which are still to be converted into the P.I.P. pattern. We shall revert to this subject in a subsequent section.

CHAPTER III: ACHIEVEMENT IN LEVELS OF ACTIVITY AND PERFORMANCE

In addition to the extent of coverage of villages by different items, it is also important to review the level of activity reached in respect of these items with a view to getting a better assessment of achievement. Taking the adoption of improved agricultural practices first, no up-to-date data is available on the proportion of cultivator households taking to this part of the programme. Data is, however, available for the period October-December 1954 from the Acceptance of Practices Enquiry then carried out by the P.E.O. in 6—10 selected villages in the Evaluation Centres. A summary statement based on this data is given below:

Percentage of relevant households adopting specified programme	Programme items
Above 70 and upto 75% . . .	1. Improved seed for sugar cane. 2. Rotation of crops.
Above 60 and below 70% . . .	1. Improved seed for cotton.
Above 40 and below 50% . . .	1. Line sowing of paddy. 2. Line sowing of cotton. 3. Cattle inoculation.
Above 30 and below 40% . . .	1. Improved seed for paddy. 2. Improved seed for wheat. 3. Use of manure with sugar cane. 4. Use of meston plough.
Above 20 and below 30% . . .	1. Improved seed for *jower*. 2. Improved seed for vegetables. 3. Ammonium sulphate with sugar cane. 4. Cotton drill. 5. Transplantation of paddy. 6. Reclamation of waste land
Above 10 and below 20% . . .	1. Chemical fertilizer with paddy. 2. Compost and other manure with paddy, wheat and cotton. 3. Seed drill. 4. Construction of *kutcha* wells. 5. Construction of *pucca* wells. 6. Reclamation of permanent fallow. 7. *Bunding* and levelling. 8. Use of pedigree bulls. 9. Treatment of sick animals. 10. Castration.
Below 10%	1. Use of pesticides. 2. Ammonium sulphate with wheat and cotton. 3. Use of iron plough. 4. Use of sprayer. 5. Japanese method of paddy cultivation. 6. Use of oil engine pump. 7. Repair of old wells.

It will be seen from the above that even at the end of 1954, the country had a long way to go before it could claim a satisfactory spread of improved agricultural practices among its cultivators. The current position in this respect can be known only after a repeat enquiry has been made, which we propose to do during the current year. However, the general impression gathered from the observations of P.E.Os. is that while there has been any noticeable change in this position, there has been a significant increase in awakening in a number of project areas.

During the course of the coverage enquiry, an attempt was made to assess the extent to which a 'positive change' was in evidence in the use of improved agricultural practices. Data on acceptance of one or other of the improved practices irrespective of the number of persons involved was classified under four categories—of rising degrees of acceptance, and movement from a lower to a higher category was described as 'positive change'. Movement from a higher to a lower category was described as 'negative change', and absence of movement was described as 'no change'. As the same village contained more than one item of improved practice, it could have simultaneously the attributes of 'positive change', 'negative change' and 'no change'. All these attributes taken together indicated the general nature of the change taking place in the village. It must be repeated that the data used here does not cover changes in acceptance by number of house-holds. Data collected in this way showed that in 82·7 per cent. of the villages going in for improved seeds, there was a 'positive change'; the position with regard to use of manure and fertilizers was 89·6 per cent. while it was 91·3 per cent. in regard to the adoption of improved methods of cultivation. 'No change' did not exceed 40 per cent. in the adoption codes, and 'negative change' was less than 6 per cent. This meant that there is taking place a steady expansion in the adoption of these improved practices, though it did not imply a similar increase in terms of the persons adopting these imroved practices in those villages. Many P.E.Os. have also reported the rising demand in their areas for facilities for the adoption of improved agricultural practices. Thus, it can be stated that, with regard to this item, there has been significant progress in coverage by number of villages. But the absolute position in regard to individual families, of the extent of coverage, intensity of coverage, and number of items covered still remains quite unsatisfactory; against this is to be set the increasing consciousness of improved agricultural practices by individual families and their rising demand for the supplies, skills, and credit necessary for satisfying this consciousness. There can be no doubt therefore, that as a result of the community project programmes, the cultivator in India has begun to move in the right direction as far as improved agricultural practices in regard to seed, manures, and methods of cultivation are concerned. Only the movement is rather slow, if one takes the totality of the cultivating classes (and especially of those who are producing foodgrains).

As regards irrigation, there was considerable progress during the project period. Thus 16 out of the 17 centres were covered by this item, the average proportion of villages covered per centre being 38·8 per cent. The area covered by irrigation was 8·84 acres per village. It must be added that the greater part of this was the

result of project activity in the form of stimulating minor irrigation works and advancing funds for their constructions. Thus, irrigation wells accounted for an average of 5·2 acres per village, while the corresponding figures per tube-well and tank was 0·32 and 0·19 acres respectively. Here again, there was wide disparity in the distribution of the benefits of irrigation among the different centres, irrigated acreage per village varying from a maximum of 32·8 acres in Manavadar (Bombay) to a minimum of 0·1 acre in Nizamsagar (Andhra). 5 centres reported an irrigated acreage of more than 10 acres per village; while 5 reported an irrigated acreage of less than 3 acres per village. An interesting feature about the programme was the extent to which tube-wells constructed during the period were reported to be not in use. Thus, of the 6 project areas reporting tube-well construction, 3 were not using them. Lack of electricity is said to be the sole cause in one centre, while in the other additional causes are lack of channels and non-payment of dues by the cultivators concerned. No doubt these causes are temporary and will disappear in due course, but the fact of their existence does show some lack of pre-planning as well as of over-anxiety to get construction work completed within the project period. In the case of irrigation wells, the position is much better, non-use being reported of only 9·3 per cent. of units constructed, but even this is not satisfactory.

As regards construction work, level of activity and performance can be gauged by the physical results achieved as also by the extent of non-use as well as of status of maintenance. Taking all the sample villages together and measuring achievement in terms of per 1000 persons, it is found that *kutcha* and *pucca* roads accounted for an average of 4·12 and 0·9 furlongs respectively. In the case of school buildings, drinking water wells, and culverts, the corresponding figures were 0·29, 1·24, and 0·73 units respectively. For drains the figure was 60·2 yards. This cannot certainly be regarded as instituting a major physical change in the country-side; but when the average figures are broken up by centres, the position revealed is more satisfactory in the case of some blocks and less so in the case of others. This is seen from the following statement:

TABLE 6

Item	Average	Max.	Min.	No. of reporting centres below the average
Kutcha roads (in furlongs)	4·1	23·5	0·03	9
Pucca roads (in furlongs)	0·9	5·3	0·03	6
School buildings (Nos.)	0·3	1·4	0·02	11
Drinking water wells (Nos.)	1·2	9·1	0·2	1
Culverts (Nos.)	0·7	3·5	0·1	9
Drains (in yards)	60·2	548·1	0·5	7

This wide disparity in physical achievement is a matter for disquiet and needs further examination.

The position in regard to non-use and poor maintenance is summarised in the following statement:

TABLE 7

Item	Percentage to total units instituted and improved in the sample villages, of units		
	In non-use	In poor maintenance	In non-use+ poor maintenance
Kutcha Roads	7·4	10·1	17·5
Pucca Roads	3·5	6·7	10·2
School buildings . . .	2·9	5·8	8·7
Drinking Water wells . .	1·0	2·3	3·3
Culverts	2·2	2·2	4·4

The average figures given above are, however, somewhat, misleading as an index of the level of activity in the centres constituting the total sample. This can be seen from the fact that if we break up the figures by centres, the majority have a level of performance higher than the overall average, and that many of them actually have a record of 100 per cent. use and maintenance. This is illustrated by the following statement:

TABLE 8

Item	No. of centres reporting activity	No. of centres with levels of use and maintenance above the over-all average	No. of centres with 100 per-cent of use and maintenance
Kutcha Roads	15	11	6
Pucca Roads	11	9	9
School Buildings . . .	17	11	9
Drinking Water wells .	17	9	7
Culverts	15	11	11

It appears, therefore, that the problem of non-use and poor maintenance is really special to a few centres except in the case of *kutcha* roads. This does not mean, however, that there is room

for complacency. Most of the constructions or improvements are new and will naturally not be in need of repair yet; and as they are the result of public participation ,they are not likely to suffer from non-use. All the same, the position needs watching in the future, especially after conversion to the post-intensive phase, a point to which we shall revert in a later section. Here it is sufficient to draw attention to the need for special scrutiny in the case of the few centres which have shown such high percentages of non-use and poor maintenance as, more than 90 per cent. in the case of roads (Manavadar—Bombay), about 70 per cent. in the case of school buildings and drinking water wells (Mandya—Mysore), and 45 per cent. in the case of culverts (Bhathat—U.P.).

CHAPTER IV: ACHIEVEMENT IN CHANGES OF ATTITUDES

The programme of community development is not concerned only with material objectives. It is also aimed at developing the human being in these block areas, stimulating his interest in social and community activities and inducing him to go in for a larger degree of community organization. Thus, it is expected to bring about social and economic change in the rural classes and develop in them both the desire for improvement and the will to do something for its achievement. In the next two sections, we shall deal with our assessment of the achievement in this respect, basing our observations both on the data obtained in the coverage inquiry and the special reports received from PEOs on social and economic change, social education, co-operative societies, and *panchayats* in their respective areas.

Let us take social and community activities first. One of the major tasks of the project staff was to promote the setting up in their areas of community centres, youth clubs, and women's organizations. The comparatively small measure of progress achieved with respect to village coverage by centres and for all centres taken together has already been noted in a previous chapter. It may be added that a majority of the reporting centres showed an index of village coverage that was well below the overall average.

For examining the level of activity we have taken the percentage of active units to units instituted in the limited number of villages covered by these programmes. Relevant figures are given below:

TABLE 9

	Community centres	Youth clubs	Women's organisations
Number of reporting centres	11	17	12
Overall average of index of activity	84·4	73·0	66·7
No. of centres having activity of 100%	6	3	5
Between 99 and 90%	2	4	1
Between 89 and 80%	2	1	nil.
Between 79 and 70%	nil.	3	nil.
Between 69 and 50%	nil.	4	1
Between 49 and 10%	nil.	1	5
Below 10%	1	1	nill.

It will be seen that community centres in the villages where they exist have the best index of performance and women's organizations the worst. This also fits in with the impressions recorded by PEOs. A notable feature revealed by this table is that women's organizations in some centres have activity well above the average while in some others, they are well below the average. This is in contrast with the two other programmes, where the incidence of activity seems to be more evenly distributed amongst the centres.

A better idea of the coverage of these institutions is obtained if we look at their number by per 1,000 persons than merely by villages and degree of inactivity. Thus, we find that the average number of active community centres was 14 per 1,00,000 persons while the corresponding figures for youth clubs and women's organizations were 18 and 4 per 1,00,000 respectively. The figures reveal clearly the fact that intensity of coverage is very low and that the country has only just made a start in the institution of these social activities for its rural population.

The extent to which the rural community is resorting to organized endeavour for the solution of its problem is seen from the data regarding *panchayats* and co-operative societies in the project areas. Taking *panchayats* first, we find that 86 per cent. of the sample villages are covered by *panchayats*. This is not, however, a very satisfactory index of effective popular organization, because in most areas, *panchayats* are constituted for groups of villages rather than single villages; and there are always complaints in such cases of differences between H. Q. and other villages in respect of both interest in participation and sharing in the benefits of *panchayat* activities. In fact, this question of the single village Vs. the multi-village organization as the primary unit of organised rural activity is one of the most serious problems concerning rural development in India, and it has not yet been solved.

Whatever be the significance that is to be attached to the village-wise jurisdiction of the *panchayat*, there is no doubt that the project period has seen a vast extension of coverage of villages by *panchayats* in the block areas. In some blocks, *panchayats* had already covered most of the villages contained therein Rajpur (Madhya Pradesh), Mandya (Mysore), Bhathat (U.P.) and Kakinada (Andhra); and there was no activity by way of instituting of *panchayats;* in some other blocks, the villages covered by *panchayats* during the pre-project period constituted a very small proportion of the total number—Cachar (Assam), Ashta (Madhya Pradesh), Bhadrak (Orissa), Batala (Punjab), Sonepat (Punjab) and Mohd. Bazar (West Bengal); and a great number of *panchayats* were newly instituted in these areas during the project period. Today only 3 centres have a poor village coverage by *panchayats*, (from 30 to 63 %), while the remaining 14 blocks have a coverage of more than 81%. It must be added that organisation of new *panchayats* was not a direct activity of the project staff and could, therefore, be described as a non-project input. But this is only a formal way of presenting the situation. There is no doubt that the coming in of community projects with their insistence on village development and their ability to further it provided an admirable background for extension of

the *panchayat* organisation. It also provoked the activisation of *panchayats* where they already existed. In some blocks, the project staff made it a point to use existing *panchayat* machinery for the promotion of rural development and this not only strengthened these *panchayats* but also stimulated the formation of other *panchayats* in neighbouring areas.

No detailed data is available of the extent to which people actually participated in *panchayat* activity. But from the reports received from P.E.Os we know that in a number of centres, *panchayats* were making cash contributions towards construction activities in the villages under their jurisdiction. Thus, in 9 centres cash contributions per village exceeded Rs. 100, one centre giving an average of Rs. 2,087, 3 of between Rs. 616 and Rs. 7,19, 3 of between Rs 213 and Rs. 276, and 2 of between Rs. 102 and Rs. 115. The complaint of course was that in such cases, construction activity tended to get concentrated in the villages where the *sarpanch* stayed and which also usually happened to be the H.Q. of the Grama Sevak.

Apart from obtaining cash contributions, conscious attempts were made by the project staff in a few centres to use the *panchayat* machinery for project work and there was ready response to these by the *panchayats* concerned. Co-ordination and co-operation was established in such cases between the project and the *panchayats*, thus fulfilling one of the objects of the programme, *viz.*, utilising and stimulating organised community endeavour on the part of the people in rural development work. This was true in larger or smaller measure in the case of Batala (Punjab), Pusa (Bihar), Kolhapur (Bombay), Manavadar (Bombay), and Chalakudy (Kerala). In the case of Bihar, the secretary of the *panchayat*, a full-time official, is himself called the gram sevak, and the village level worker acts as a liaison between the project and the *panchayat*. Here *panchayats* were given a chance to share in the drawing up of development plans in their area and actively participate in the construction of drinking water wells, village roads, and minor irrigation works and undertake other project activities. There is reason to believe that this active association in project work of organised community endeavour is largely responsible for the high degree of success that has attended so many items of the project programme in this area. It would be worthwhile undertaking a case study of this project area from this point of view. Kolhapur (Bombay) is another example of prominent *panchayat* participation in project activities. While thus there are ample indications that *panchayats* can, given the chance and under appropriate conditions, play a vital role in village development activity. It must be admitted that in the vast majority of the Evaluation Centres *panchayats* do not play an active role in development except in some cases for the cash contributions they made to project works in their villages. This is partly because of lack of special efforts on the part of the project staff to utilise the *panchayat* machinery but even more because of the existence of factions in villages, the failure of the people to attach the correct importance to *panchayat* elections, lack of leadership,

and poor financial resources of the *panchayats*. Illiteracy, lack of understanding of the functions of *panchayats* and unwillingness to fulfil the obligations of *panchayat* office on the part of *sarpanchs* and *mukhias* as also comparative unwillingness of the project staff to use the *panchayat* machinery are all factors that have come in the way of greater *panchayat* participation in rural development. This is a very serious matter, for the whole success as well as durability of community development rests upon the extent to which it operates through organised village institutions. As pointed out by the Planning Commission, the village *panchayat* is the institutional agency for achieving social cohesion and unless it is given, along with the co-operative, a primary place in the machinery of development, programmes initiated by the project staff will tend to weaken, if not disappear, with the termination of the initial aid and stimulus by Government. The project staff, therefore, should make it a point to use *panchayat* machinery. Even if this leads to failure in some cases, such failure is a necessary part of the educational process by participation, because through such participation alone can sound democratic foundations be laid for economic and social activity in rural areas. Side by side, it is also necessary to devote much greater attention to the task of educating both the *panchayat* members and the *panchayat* executive committees in the objectives, content and working of *panchayat* programmes. Extension work directed to *panchayat* members and executives is as much necessary as that directed towards agriculturists and artisans. To this question *inter alia*, we will revert in a subsequent section.

As regards co-operative societies, no detailed data has so far been collected by the P.E.O., but reports received from Evaluation Officers this year throw some light on the working of co-operative societies in their areas, and this has been used in the special section on 'co-operative endeavour' which follows later on in this volume. It may be stated here that while 50·6 per cent. of the sample villages were covered by credit co-operatives, the corresponding figure for non-credit societies was only 12·8 per cent. A number of co-operative societies were, however, not functioning, the relevant figure for credit societies being 12·9 per cent. and for non-credit societies 30.2 per cent. It is also found from the Acceptance of Practices Enquiry carried out in October—December, 1954, that nearly 76 per cent. of the households in the villages covered by co-operative societies did not participate in these societies. Taking all these facts into consideration, it is clear that the co-operative movement has still a long way to go in terms of coverage by villages, population, and by types of co-operative societies, and also by extent of active units among societies. Thus, the percentage of villages covered by credit societies varied from 9·3 to 96·8, with 10 centres falling below the overall average of 50·6. The corresponding figures for non-credit societies were 2·6 per cent. to 43·9 per cent. with 10 blocks falling below the overall average of 12·8 per cent. The extent of variation is seen even more clearly by the fact that among credit societies, 5 centres reported a village coverage of over 75 per cent. and 5 centres of below 20 per cent. In the case of non-credit societies, 4 centres reported a village coverage of over 20 per cent. and 8 of below 8 per cent.

The extent of variation in regard to the incidence of activity was even larger, 7 centres reporting 100 per cent. active units and 3 centres reporting less than 75 per cent. against an overall average of 87 per cent. in the credit societies. In the case of non-credit societies, 7 centres showed 100 per cent. active units, and 3 centres reported active units of less than 50 per cent. against an overall average of 70 per cent. To some extent, this variation is the result of differing degrees of development of the co-operative movement among the centres in the pre-project period. Partly it is also due to the different degrees of interest shown by the project staff in the promotion of the co-operative movement in their areas. This again is a matter for serious concern. The Planning Commission regards the co-operative as the fulcrum on which rural economic activity should rest and develop. It is through the linking of credit, production, marketing and saving of a part of the sale proceeds that the village is expected to play the important role it has been assigned in the Plan in regard to increase of both production and savings. As pointed out in Chapter XII, however, this does not mean taking a mechanical view and just going all out for a mere increase in the number of co-operative societies registered during the period. It does mean, however, that a conscious and deliberate attempt should be made to make use of co-operative machinery where it exists, and where it does not, create the conditions whereby it can come into existence and function in a healthy manner. More orientation of the entire project staff in this matter seems to be indicated.

As regards physical achievement in the field of primary education, we find that taking all the centres together, 25 new units per 100,000 persons were started during the project period, 4 centres reporting new units of over 83 per 100,000 persons and 7 of less than 10 per 100,000. There were, in addition, improvements effected in existing units, the overall average for the sample villages in all the centres being 18 per 100,000 persons, with 6 centres reporting improved units of more than 20 per 100,000 persons and 3 centres of below 10 per 100,000 persons. The progress achieved is certainly not satisfactory, especially in the light of the directive principle embodied in the Constitution regarding free and compulsory primary education.

Adult literacy centres were started during the project period in all but 2 of the Evaluation Centres. 38·6 per cent. of the sample villages reported this programme, village coverage by blocks varying from 8 per cent. to 93 per cent. with 6 centres reporting village coverage of over 58 per cent. From the reports received from P.E.Os., however, it appears that there is general lack of interest on the part of villages in this programme; and even when follow-up facilities are provided by way of rural libraries, the response is not enthusiastic. It has also been noticed that as soon as project grants cease, the literacy centres also tend to disappear. This lack of enthusiasm for literacy among adults constitutes a sharp contrast to their enthusiasm for primary education for their children and indicates some major deficiency either in the extension

methods followed by social education officers or in the technique adopted for imparting adult literacy.

As regards the benefits of the programme for the economically handicapped classes and the extent of the bridging of the distance between the better off and worse off sections of rural society, P.E.O.'s reports do not give room for optimism. It is true that some direct benefit has accrued to the handicapped classes by way of employment, drinking water wells, primary education, and rural housing. But these are not, with the exception of the last item and that too only in some areas, peculiar to the handicapped classes. Benefits of these programmes accrue also to the other classes in the villages. In addition, the better off classes get loans, are more easily able to adopt improved practices, and otherwise derive larger benefit from the development programmes. The non-owner classes have not got the status that possession of land alone can give them, land re-distribution still remains in the realm of thought and discussion. Land reforms in the direction of ceiling on holdings, consolidation of holdings, giving of land to the landless labourers, and co-operative farming are all still to be achieved in most of the evalution block areas. Persons who can use credit productively but do not have the assets that can make credit available are, generally speaking, handicapped by the absence of co-operative institutions lending supplies in kind and arranging for sales and recovery from sale proceeds. This system of what is called 'integrated finances' has been reported from one or two block areas, but is still in an incipient stage and in any case found only in limited areas. The result of all this is that while some people are undoubtedly benefiting from the development programme and improving their economic and social conditions, these usually belong to those sections in the village who were already somewhat better off than their fellow villagers. This is a matter of concern for the future of the community development programme.

Finally, it must be pointed out that while there is reported to be some improvement in the working of Block and District Advisory Committees, it still remains largely true of the block areas that enough use is not being made of these agencies either in planning the programme or in creating the necessary atmosphere for implementing it. Officials are still not quite educated in seeing the possibilities of the immense help they can derive for the promotion of public participation by paying appropriate attention to these committees. The composition of these committees is still being determined in many cases on the basis of status and prestige rather that of functional competence or representation of organised village activity. What these committees need are members who have a vital stake in rural development and are, therefore, prepared actively to participate in C.D. and N.E.S. programmes and exert their influence in mobilising public co-operation for their implementation. What they also need are officials who have confidence in the sense of responsibility and capacity for public work on the part of the non-officials and are, therefore, anxious to enlist their active co-operation. Both these things are happening no doubt; but not yet in a measure that leaves an adequate enough impact on the rural community.

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSIONS FROM REVIEW OF ACHIEVEMENT

So much for the physical achievements of the project programme. The record is impressive, considering the long period of stagnation in which rural India had rested in the pre-project period; but it is not equally impressive when considered in the light of the requirements of the people. Several conclusions stand out from the survey we have made of the achievements of the community project programme. The more important of these are summarised below:

(1) Almost all villages have been covered by one or more items in the programme.

(2) Items involving physical change, especially constructional and irrigational activity, are widespread, and have contributed in some measure to the production potential and the social over-heads of the block areas.

(3) Items involving change in production attitudes in agriculture and animal husbandry are comparatively successful, while it is not possible to say anything about changes in production attitudes among artisans due to the fact that programmes concerning cottage industries are neither widespread nor particularly successful.

Items involving changes in standards or norms of living, especially in regard to primary education and drinking water are comparatively successful, while those concerning adult literacy and personal and environmental hygiene are not equally successful.

(5) Items involving change in social attitudes such as readiness to go in for or maintain community centres, youth clubs, and women's organizations are, generally speaking, not particularly successful.

(6) Items involving change in organisational attitudes in the economic field such as better understanding of the objectives and obligations of cooperation and readiness to make use of cooperative societies for purposes other than credit such as production and marketing are comparatively unsuccessful.

(7) Items involving change in organisational attitudes in the political field such as better understanding of the objectives and responsibilities of *panchayat* membership and readiness to use *panchayats* for planning and executing village development programmes are comparatively unsuccessful.

(8) The objective of inducing public participation and positive support has been comparatively successful in the case of constructional programmes, but not in the case of institutional programmes.

(9) While there has been considerable increase in rural consciousness of economic, and to a smaller extent, of social needs, the objective of stimulating continuing and positive effort based on self-help for promoting economic or social development has been comparatively unsuccessful. Too much dependence on Government initiative and assistance is still being exhibited by the vast majority of the rural population affected by the programme.

(10) The rural population in project areas is, generally speaking, now developing a feeling that Government is there not merely to rule but also to help. In fact, expectation of what Government can do to help has perhaps reached a stage beyond the current resources of Government. On the other hand, there has not taken place an equally strong sentiment of self-reliance and initiative, whether individual or cooperative. Unless, therefore, Government deploy more resources in rural areas and the people, in turn, show greater initiative and self-help, a situation is being created in rural India, which is bound to create serious difficulties.

(11) There is wide disparity in the distribution of the achievement and therefore of the benefits of community project programmes. This disparity exists as between different blocks in the project areas. Within the blocks, it exists as between the H.Q. villages of Grama Sevaks, the villages easily accessible to them, and the villages not so easily accessible. Within the villages, it exists as between cultivators and non-cultivators; and within the cultivating classes, it exists as between cultivators of bigger holdings and larger financial resources and those of smaller holdings and lesser financial resources. This is a matter of serious concern not only in terms of regional and social justice but also in terms of the political consequences that may ensue in the context of the increasing awakening among the people.

(12) Orientation of the project staff in the objectives and techniques of community development and of the Five Year Plan is neither adequate nor uniform in distribution.

(13) Advisory committees at the block and district levels are still to play the role that was expected of them in the development programme. This is due partly to defective membership and partly to continuing reluctance of the official machinery to make full and positive use of the Advisory Committees.

(14) The transition from community project to the P.I.P. pattern has created a number of important problems of maintenance of facilities, satisfaction of demands and activising of project staff. These need to be solved urgently, if we are to activise both the project staff and the population of the project blocks which are now passing into 'post-intensive' phase. Only then can economic and social development of self-sustaining character be made possible for these areas.

These conclusions are necessarily general and cannot apply with equal force to each project area. But they are nevertheless relevant in greater or smaller measure for all project areas. The problems thrown up by these conclusions and the study of the four year record of C.D. and N.E.S. programme on which they are based need to be attended to and in time, if the country is to get the full benefit of the vast C.D., N.E.S., and P.I.P. programme with which it is proposed to cover it. These may broadly be classified under the following heads:—

(1) Problem of transition, including maintenance of facilities and satisfaction of demands created during the project period.

(2) Problems of administration, including coordination and orientation.

(3) Problem of Extension and Specialist services.

(4) Role of the Grama Sevak.

To a study of these problems and the formulation of the suggestions for dealing with them, we turn in the following four chapters. Arising from these and if found necessary, we shall turn in a concluding chapter to a review of the expansion of the programme, its content, technique, and phasing.

CHAPTER VI

PROBLEMS OF TRANSITION

We have already seen that special efforts are required to smoothen the transition from the C.D. to the P.I.P. programme. First, there is the problem of maintenance of facilities created during the project period. Facilities like schools, hospitals, through-roads, and veterinary dispensaries have to be maintained either by the State Departments themselves or by district or local boards. On the other hand, in case of works like approach roads, drinking water wells and community centres, the responsibility is clearly of individuals or institutions within the village. In most projects, arrangements for maintenance of facilities by the departments or district local boards have been finalised. But in several cases, all the problems connected with this change have not yet been resolved. In one project, no arrangements for maintenance have been finalised; in another the departments have not yet taken up the responsibility even though the arrangements have been settled; in a third, the constructions done under the project are not considered upto the mark by the Public Works Department. However, as far as maintenance by State Departments is concerned, this is primarily an administrative question. In case of local bodies like District Boards, paucity of resources is a major problem. There is a widespread feeling among these bodies that their responsibilities are progressively increasing with rapid increase in facilities like schools, dispensaries, roads etc., while their resources have not shown a corresponding increase. In fact, the extension of *panchayats* is reported to have cut into the resources of these bodies in some areas. In some cases (*e.g.* Punjab), the State Government have had to agree to the condition that they will make grants amounting to the full cost of maintenance, before they could get the District Boards to take over the responsibility for maintaining these institutions.

The problem of maintenance of facilities by the villagers is on a completely different footing. This is not an administrative question, but one involving willingness and capacity to undertake responsibility, on the part of the village people. We have seen that the current position in regard to use and maintenance has not been unsatisfactory. But it must be remembered that the effort needed for maintenance is comparatively small in the early stages of completed works. It is only later that the scale of effort required for maintenance becomes substantial. It is obvious that permanent reliance cannot be placed for this purpose on either individual or unorganised or *ad*

hoc collective effort. Long term maintenance of these facilities has to be the responsibility of the village *panchayats*. The fact remains, however, that, though there has been a notable expansion in the number of *panchayats* during the project period, there has not been an equal measure of progress either in their resources or in their desire and ability for active participation in this development work. Reports have also been received from some P.E.Os. that a part of the unwillingness on the part of *panchayats* to undertake this work is due to the fact that the original construction programmes were undertaken without their being consulted and that these programmes benefited only either individuals or special groups of individuals and not the entire village community. This only stresses the need for the project staff in future to make more use of the *panchayat* machinery than they have done so far for development work, even if this means some special effort on their part and some delay in the actual implementation of the programmes. The problem of maintenance especially of village facilities is a factor that should be borne in mind at the very outset of the programme in subsequent community development projects. One way of doing this is to associate the organised or collective will of the community in their areas with the planning of the community programme and also, to the extent possible, with the actual implementation of the same. All this, however, is for the future. The current problem is that of maintenance of village facilities in the transitional period. The project staff should have some responsibility in this matter, and it is also necessary that a small financial provision is made for the purpose in the schematic budget of the post-intensive blocks.

As regards institutions in the social field, primary reliance should be placed for maintenance on voluntary effort, individual or collective as the case may be, and not on official machinery. If experience shows that people are not so much interested in these activities just now and are more concerned with production facilities or physical amenities, the path of wisdom may be to accept the situation and not spend public funds on the maintenance of these institutions. This does not mean, however, that the project staff should not go ahead in their attempts to promote activity in the field of social institutions. Only here again, it must be noted that, even more than for constructional activities, prior preparation of the ground is necessary by way of education and public support before steps are taken to set up new units under these institutional programmes.

Then there is the problem of satisfying the new demands created by the very facilities that were provided for the people during the project period. We have already seen that a wide measure of disparity exists between the H.Q. villages of Grama Sevaks and other villages in the project areas. Special attention will have to be paid to the removal of this disparity if we are to avoid discontent on the part of these villages. Account must also be taken of the expressed need of the people for more of such amenities as drinking water wells, roads, approach roads, and primary schools in preference to the emphasis placed on institutional programmes in the post-intensive phase. All this requires some revision upwards of the budget provided for the post-intensive phase and a relaxation of the rule requiring a greater measure of public contribution for the implementation of construction works. Even more important is the need

for seeing that, in the distribution of the large volume of non-project expenditure on rural development provided under the Second Five Year Plan, due note is taken of the requirements of these block areas, specially in the light of the transitional problems posed by their conversion from C.D. into P.I.P. areas. It is also important that maximum possible use is made of the block level staff, especially the Grama Sevaks, in the planning and operation of non-project development expenditure in these areas. Account must also be taken of the increase in demand for production facilities in terms of skills, supplies and credit, and necessary arrangements made with the relevant regular departments of Government to pay special attention to these requirements in the project areas now taken over to the post-intensive phase.

Incidentally, the measure suggested above will also help to smoothen the transition in the case of the project staff and give them a sense of continuity. They will now get time to adjust themselves to their real role *viz.* of being extension workers and at the same time give them the feeling that they are helping the rural community in their areas in a concrete way.

CHAPTER VII

PROBLEM OF ADMINISTRATION

The problem of coordination, of combining the horizontal responsibilities of the area specialist with the vertical responsibilities of the subject matter specialist, still continues to defy solution. With the change over to the N.E.S. pattern, the Block Development Officer has gained in power and responsibility, except in two States where B.D.Os hold non-gazetted posts and have to take their orders from Sub-Divisional Officers. This is all for the good. On the other hand, the block level staff no longer have the advantage of technical staff at or near the district level exclusively attached to their programme. They have now to resort more to the regular district staff in the development field and this, in turn, makes it more necessary for them to get organically linked with the regular administrative staff of the district, which have so far been primarily an agency for revenue collection and for maintenance of law and order. In other words, coordination at the block level is now becoming more a by-product of coordination at the district level, with the District Collector—directly, or assisted by a District Development Officer—exercising more coordination over the technical heads of development departments in the district and more control over the development work of the project staff in his district. The district officer is thus tending to become the king-pin of the development programme, and the general administration is beginning to wear the new look associated with the Welfare State that India is now becoming. Only all the administrative implications of this transformation have not been realised either at the district level or at the State level. Nor is the necessary orientation found in the regular administrative staff which is now being called upon to assume new responsibilities of an over-all character in regard to development. In the meanwhile, integration of revenue and development functions at the block level continues to expand in the project areas. But necessary steps have not been taken to reorient the block staff either in the light of these new additions to their functions or in that of the new emphasis on

extension that takes the place of constructional activity in the P.I.P. pattern. The whole problem of administrative coordination and orientation needs re-thinking, now that development is the major activity of Government and the C.D.N.E.S. and P.I.P. programmes are expected to cover the entire country within the next four years. While we hope to return to this theme in a more concrete way in our next report, it may be useful to state here some suggestions for action in the immediate future. These are:

(1) Active steps should be taken to bring about coordination between different development departments at the State level, both between ministers and between heads of departments.

(2) The primary function of the administrative head of the district should be recognised as development and he should be given special assistants for dealing with law and order and revenue functions rather than the other way about.

(3) Orientation in the objectives and techniques of community development should be made available to officers at the highest level, both general and specialist, who are dealing with development. Unless the whole administrative machinery of Government gets permeated with the philosophy of community development, problems of coordination will continue to hamper the programme in spite of any changes that may be made in the administrative set-up for dealing with this problem.

(4) Immediate steps should be taken to improve the maintenance of records of development activity at the village and the block level; and scrutiny and checking of these records made a normal function of touring administrative officers who are concerned with development.

(5) Above all, the crucial thing to remember is that the N.E.S. agency, though partly financed by the Centre, is essentially a permanent part of the administrative machinery of the State Governments. It is not a question of N.E.S. staff being guided or controlled or coordinated by the general administration. It should be one of the entire administration assuming the 'development look' and therefore using the N.E.S. agency as its own development arm in the rural areas.

CHAPTER VIII

EXTENSION AND SPECIALIST SERVICES

This brings us to the basic question of the role of the extension service and the specialist departments or agencies in the rural development effort. The primary function of an extension service is educational—taking knowledge of improved practices and better ways of living to the rural people. But pure extension has little meaning if it is not accompanied by availability of certain other elements, which enable the rural people to adopt the recommended improvements and make extension effective.

The three most important elements among these are:

(i) supplies—*e.g.* of improved seed, manures and fertilizers, building materials, etc;

(ii) credit;

(iii) essential services *e.g.*, of a veterinary dispensary, a hospital or a maternity centre, school, etc.

In developed economies like that of the U.S.A., these elements are provided largely by non-official agencies—private, co-operative or voluntary service—and the existence of these elements in abundant and expanding measure enables the extension services to concentrate on their educational role. In India, on the other hand, not only are all these elements extremely deficient, but the initiative for providing these rests primarily with Government. This makes it more difficult to concentrate on extension work on the part of the development staff in India.

A necessary condition for the effectiveness of extension work in India therefore is the expansion and strengthening of institutions dealing with supplies and credit, accompanied by a strengthening and expansion of Government agencies which supply research, technical, and social services. A Grama Sevak, for instance, can be far more effective as an extension worker if he can turn to a well equipped and well staffed hospital or agricultural research station at the block or district levels for guidance and supplies, than if he has to depend upon his block and district level technical officers who in turn have to depend on still more distant sources. The Grama Sevak's effectiveness as an extension worker will be greatest when there are well equipped and well staffed institutions—hospitals, agricultural stations, cooperatives with warehouses for seed, manures and other needed supplies—at near enough levels so that he can avail of their facilities for assistance to the villagers. All this, of course, is realised by the Government; and expansion of these facilities forms an important part of the Second Five Year Plan. What is emphasized here is the relevance of these institutions to the success of the C.D. and N.E.S. programmes.

Here it would be useful to mention that in some countries, the extension service seems to be based on such institutions. In China, the agricultural extension service is based on a chain of agricultural stations called Technique Popularisation Stations. These are research-*cum*-supply institutions. Specialists and extension workers, whose number depends upon the size and importance of the stations, are attached to these, and operate from these into the country-side. In the U.S.A. also, the agricultural extension service is linked intimately with the Universities and Colleges of Agriculture and the Experiment Stations attached to them. In India, also, it is necessary that such institutions are brought into intimate touch with the extension service and the latter made increasingly dependent upon them for support. An example may be given to bring out the kind of relation that can obtain between the two. In one State (West Bengal) a chain of rural health centres, with one for approximately 10—15 villages, is being established under the Second Five Year Plan. Such a step is, of course, essential for making medical assistance effectively available to the rural people. Besides this, however, these health centres appear to be the most suitable *base* on which the health extension effort in the area should *rest*. The staff of the centre should have some extension duties (besides their work within the centre) and the specialist public health staff of the

block level should be intimately connected with the centre and should depend upon it for supplies, equipment, medical assistance, etc. The extension service cannot be based on a staffing pattern alone: in order to make the pattern effective, such institutional support is essential.

As regards strengthening of the technical departments, the most important development appears to be posting of district level officers in such fields as Social Education and Cottage Industry, in which these officers did not exist in many States. Some States have also made progress in filling the deficiencies in district and field level staff in other technical departments. In Bihar, a noteworthy step of attaching three research assistants—specialists in horticulture, plant diseases and soil science—to each district agricultural officer has been taken. This is a welcome development because it is only through such strengthening of district level staffs that extension can be more effectively carried to the villagers. It is a matter of concern, however, that generally speaking, steps taken so far by State Governments to strengthen their technical staff at the district and even State levels have not been adequate to meet the mounting needs of the rural population.

Finally, more attention needs to be paid to the whole problem of training of the block staff and orientation of the specialist staff. In spite of the fact that the movement has now been in existence for more than 4 years, there is not sufficient understanding of the objectives and techniques of community development programmes among the specialist staff. Seminar programmes for district and State level staff, therefore, need to be formulated in the light of this fact and also given effect to speedily, if success is to attend the vast expansion now going on in the C.D., N.E.S. and P.I.P. programmes.

CHAPTER IX

THE ROLE OF THE GRAMA SEVAK

In the last Evaluation Report it had been observed that the role and functions of the Grama Sevak as they were actually emerging in the field were different from those visualized by the planners of the programme; that in most areas, the Grama Sevaks were busy with works programme and with various supply and service functions, and that their extension functions were being given a secondary position. In view of this development, the need for more precise and adequate definition of the role and functions of the Grama Sevak was emphasized. This need has become even more urgent as a result of developments during the current year. So long as the projects were spending large sums of money on various types of construction works, these works occupied most of the time of the Grama Sevak. But with the sharp fall in construction activity in the post-intensive phase, this part of the Grama Sevak's work has been greatly reduced. Reports have come from a number of Evaluation Centres that the Grama Sevaks do not have much work; and spend a considerable proportion of their time at block headquarters, and that they do not visit villages and, even when they do, confine their contacts to a few people whom they know well. It is also reported that some of them are getting more 'official' in their

behaviour and expect the villagers to come to their 'offices' for their requirements. It has been suggested that this may be due to the reduced amounts at their disposal which gives them more discretion in the choice of persons to be assisted. While this may be true in some cases, the more general position appears to be what has been already stated, *viz.*, that the Grama Sevaks are developing a sense of frustration, do not quite know what to do with their time now that they do not have much construction work to look to, and in any case feel that they would be ineffective because of the considerably smaller volume of funds at their disposal for disbursement to the villages. It is, therefore, imperative that the question of the role of the Grama Sevak should be fully thrashed out, and his task more precisely formulated.

From a study of what has been said about the Grama Sevak by the Planning Commission and the Ministry of Community Development, it apears that his role is conceived essentially as that of a multi-purpose worker. The following appear to be the chief ingredients of his work:

(1) He is an extension worker in the production field, educating the villagers in better techniques of agriculture and animal husbandry and promoting irrigational and other productive constructional works.

(2) He is an extension worker in other fields as well, such as cooperation, *panchayat* activity, social institutions, and sanitation. As such, he is supposed to promote human development in his area. In particular, he should encourage local people to assume leadership roles for purposive action, stimulate the community to organise itself for programmes of collective benefit and in general initiate a process of cooperative action for progress in the village community.

(3) He should specially help youth, women, and other sections needing special assistance, to organise themselves for their own benefit and for contribution to the advance of the community.

(4) He should serve as the principal and effective channel of communication between the development authorities of Government and the village. As such he is the spokesman of many Government departments and the communicant of village needs and problems to these many departments.

(5) He should function as the *sevak* or servant of the village and help individual villagers to plan their production, solve their technical difficulties or get competent technical advice on the same, secure them supplies, and generally be a friendly guide.

In actual fact, the Grama Sevak has not been able to perform these functions; and it is not suprising that he should have been unable to do so in view both of the multiplicity and complexity of the functions involved and of the very inadequate training that he has received for coping with these functions. It must also be re-

membered that, in a country like India, no extension worker can hope to get the confidence of the rural people unless he attends to what the villagers feel are their most immediate needs and unless he makes himself useful to them in the manner in which they want. It was really therefore a matter of good fortune from the point of view of the eventual success of the C.D. and N.E.S. programme that the project staff had at their disposal, during the initial stages, ample funds for both construction and irrigational work and the Grama Sevak was able not only to disburse funds for satisfying the felt needs of the people but also secure for them the supplies and credit without which they would not have been able to effect any improvement in their material conditions. It is this activity of his—and one that did not really fit in with the strictly orthodox view of the Grama Sevak's role—that broke down the barrier between Government and the people, stimulated public confidence in the beneficient role of Government, induced them to turn to Government for the satisfaction of their felt requirements and secured for the Grama Sevak that place of confidence which could enable him to function as an extension worker and a friendly guide. Any abrupt termination of this part of the Grama Sevak's activities would not be desirable even in the interests of his efficient functioning as an extension worker. Undoubtedly, the Grama Sevak cannot go on indefinitely as the organiser of construction work and of supplies; these are functions which should in due course be taken over by the people themselves, with, of course, appropriate assistance from the Government departments normally concerned with these activities. Equally obviously, it is the primary function of the Grama Sevak to function as an extension worker and friendly guide and help the rural community to acquire self confidence, desire for higher standards or norms of living, readiness to go in for changed techniques, initiative and positive action in undertaking effort to satisfy his needs, persistence in effort, mobilisation of resources and cooperative and community action for the satisfaction of collective needs. But this is a long period function. It cannot emerge in a day. So long as this is understood, the current emphasis on the role of the Grama Sevak as an extension worker and the decrying of his other activities is in order. But it must be understood clearly and unambiguously that the villager has a number of needs for which he wants immediate action, that he expects his Government to assist him in the satisfaction of these needs, and that somebody in the village level should do so. So long as village local *panchayat* and the local cooperative society are not well organised and so long as the normal development departments of Government have not created the physical and technical resources such as staff, warehouses, seed stores, fertilizer depots, research stations and the like easily accessible to the villager and readily available within his resources, somebody has to fill the vacuum. It may be unfortunate that the Grama Sevak has to do so, but it is an inevitable product of the comparatively backward stage the country occupies today in the field of economic development. It is vitally important, therefore, that the transition in the role of the Grama Sevak from the C.D. to the P.I.P. pattern should take place by gradual stages and alongside the filling up of the economic and physical gaps in the countryside. It is important that the implications of this proposition should be considered in all its bearings before undertaking a wholesale programme of conversion of C.D. into P.I.P. blocks and

sticking to the present pattern of the P.I.P. both in terms of its functions and its budget provisions. It is relevant in this connection also to consider the manner and extent to which the Grama Sevak could be utilized in the planning and implementation of non-project expenditure on rural development and thus obviate the necessity for providing him with a separate budget.

Having said this, it is necessary to proceed further and outline the steps that are essential to bring about the desired objective, viz. extension work and friendly guidance as the principal role of the Grama Sevak. For this purpose, four things appear to be necessary.

(1) The Grama Sevak should have adequate and competent training in the problems and methods of community and group organisation; and he should be well backed by appropriate orientation on the part of the development staff at the block and higher levels.

(2) If the objective indicated by the Planning Commission, viz that the Grama Sevak should establish contact with every individual family in his area and help to plan its production programme is to be fulfilled, there appears to be a need for some reduction in the area and population allotted to him for this purpose.

(3) The Grama Sevak should be supported by appropriate research and educational centres at the field level, to which he can bring the problem he faces in his actual contact with villagers and from which he can take back appropriate technical advice.

(4) The Grama Sevak should be appropriately supported in his extension activities by the development departments of Government creating the physical and other facilities necessary for satisfying the needs that will be created in the villagers by the success of his extension work. In the long period, these facilities should operate through village bodies and be based partly at least on the mobilisation of village resources and the Grama Sevak's extension work should be canalised in that direction. But pending that, supplies must be forthcoming when the need for them becomes conscious and insistent.

CHAPTER X: REVIEW OF THE PROGRAMME

We had stated in a previous section that, arising from our study of the problems of community development, we shall turn in a concluding section to a review of the expansion programme, its content, technique, and phasing. This Chapter accordingly forms the concluding portion of Part I of Vol. I of our Report.

Arising from our study of the last four years' working of community development programmes, it seems necessary to reformulate the content of the programme. The programme is certainly primarily of extension. But in order to make the extension successful, it needs to be accompanied by a programme involving skills, supplies, and credit. When the programme has been in force for

a sufficiently long period, it is expected that Government agency will be minimal in regard to these factors and that they will rest largely either on individual or on cooperative and local community initiative. Till such time as individual or cooperative initiative has taken over these functions, it is necessary that they should be performed by Government and it is desirable that they should either form or be closely linked with the C.D., N.E.S. and P.I.P. programmes. Advance on the rural front cannot be made merely by the institution of an extension agency; it needs to be supplemented by adequate effort on the side of skills, supplies and credit. If this view is accepted, it follows that there should be some review of the content of both the N.E.S. and the P.I.P., more especially the latter. This review should be in the direction of making more provision for works programmes and some provision for loan finance in the programme. More important than this, and certainly essential from the long run point of view, is the need for integrating project with non-project expenditure on rural development to the maximum extent possible consistent with the requirements of the overall national plan for development. The N.E.S. agency (it means more or less the same thing so far as the staff pattern is concerned as either the C.D., or the P.I.P. agency) should eventually be used as the field development arm of State Govrnments in rural areas rather than as a separate machinery with a separate budget and needing separate supervision and coordination. While this is the long term view, it should be kept in mind even now and steps taken to provide the necessary orientation to the role which is being assigned to the Grama Sevak and the block level staff. There should also be more emphasis on the supply of technical skills of sufficient competence to guide the block staff in the planning and implementation of their block programmes; with it is also linked the setting up of research facilities near the field and closely linked with field experience. It is also necessary that greater flexibility and capacity for adjustment to local variations should be provided in the programme, with reference to local natural conditions in the case of production and construction programme, and with reference to local social and cultural conditions and the felt needs of the people concerned in the case of social and institutional programmes. It is also necessary that greater emphasis should be given in the content of the programmes to the factor of record and assessment of progress in each block.

As regards techniques, far more emphasis should be placed on preparing the people in each block for the planning and operation of development programmes in the case of new N.E.S. blocks and for the change in the role and resources of the project staff in the case of conversion from C.D. into P.I.P. blocks. Secondly, every attempt should be made to utilise organised channels of the village community for the planning and implementation of development programmes rather than just stray individuals, however progressive they might be. This means a more and deliberate and definitely greater use of the *panchayat* and the co-operative than has been done so far. This is important not only from the point of securing greater public participation and therefore better immediate results in the project period but also from the point of view of the subsequent maintenance and expansion of the facilities and changes in

attitudes created during the project period. It is perhaps not entirely a matter of coincidence that the three best projects in the Evaluation Centres happen to be those where the project officers have made the largest use of the *panchayat* and the co-operative in the implementation of their development programmes. Organised and institutional participation by the public in development programmes is bound to give better, more consistent, and more lasting results than *ad hoc* participation by unorganised individuals acting on momentary enthusiasm. If this view is accepted, not only will more positive direction have to be given to the block and other development staff on the techniques to be followed, but also greater attention will have to be paid to community and group organisation in the training of Grama Sevaks and more orientation to the superior development staff at district and State levels in the philosophy of community development in the context of a planned economy.

As regards phasing of the expansion programme, it seems clear that greater attention to pre-planning and longer periods of training will yield rich dividends in the extent of success attending the development programmes. Co-ordination and co-operative action are also items that cannot be rushed in time. Financial provision as well as physical availabilities also need to be increased, if the country is to be successfully covered with one or another type of community development pogrammes during the Second Five Year Plan period. Whether the considerations outlined above make it desirable that there should be a slowing down of the expansion programme during the current plan period is a question that requires far more study and discussion than it has been possible to give in this Report.

PART II

SOME ASPECTS OF THE COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMMES

CHAPTER XI: SOCIAL EDUCATION

A major deficiency in this field had been the absence of specialist staff at the district and State levels to provide guidance to the field Social Education Organisers. This deficiency is being progressively made up in a number of States. District Social Education Officers are being appointed; posts of the status of Deputy or Joint Directors of Education are being created at the State level, and social education is on the way to developing a departmental structure of its own. In this connection it is of interest to note that in one project, Bhathat-U.P., a separate hierarchy beginning with the adult teacher at the village level, and including a field teacher at the multi-village level and the regular Social Education specialist at the block level is being established. The place of the Grama Sevak in this structure is not too clear.

The process of crystallisation of the content of the programme, to which reference was made in the last Evaluation Report, has gone further during the current year and Social Education has begun to be associated with a defined set of activities. We review below some of the major items in this programme:

Adult Literacy

This has been the most widespread programme undertaken, and in the early stages about the only programme undertaken in many areas. The records of performance in a number of centres are moderately impressive. But what is significant is the general lack of enthusiasm of the villagers towards this programme. The adult literacy centres run as long as grants are available but as soon as these cease, the centres cease too. The lack of follow-up facilities to prevent neo-literates from relapsing into illiteracy is often commented upon. But even in projects, where these follow-up activities have been taken up e.g., through organisation of rural libraries, the response is not enthusiastic. For one reason or another, library facilities are not adequately utilised. Underneath the various reports received from the P.E.Os. about the defects of one kind or another in the operation of literacy programmes, there appears to be unmistakable evidence that rural adults are not particularly keen about literacy. This indifference, existing side by side with their eagerness for education of their children (mainly male children, but also increasingly female children), is a matter for investigation. It is noteworthy that instances of villages conducting an adult literacy class on their own or even continuing one after the project grants ceased are exceptional.

Community Centres

Community centres have been established in a majority of the project areas. The building for the centre is in most cases made available either by the community or by some rich member thereof, while the project supplies the equipment e.g., a radio-set, some musical instruments, furniture, equipment for indoor games, etc. In many cases, new community centre buildings have been constructed for which projects have given grants and people have made contributions of labour and cash. Frequently, the community centre is also intended to serve as the office for the *panchayat* and the co-operative society, the object being to ensure that there is at least one building in the village which is available for the collective purposes of the community. Construction of such community centre buildings has been a popular programme in many project areas. The running of the recreation centres has not been very satisfactory, however. Equipment, distributed by the project, is used for some time when it is new, but as soon as some repairs or replacement (e.g., a new battery for the radio set) become necessary, the money and effort needed for the purpose are not generally forthcoming from the community. The equipment falls into disuse, and interest in the centre itself wears off gradually. The experience with the numerous clubs organised by the social education staff—farmers' clubs, youth clubs, women's clubs—is also similar. There is a certain amount of enthusiasm in the beginning; the facilities provided or grants given by the Government act as a stimulant, and some activity ensues. As soon as the equipment is exhausted or the grant ceases, or often even before that, enthusiasm gets dampened and the clubs begin to lose vitality.

In contrast with activities like adult literacy centres, recreation centres or clubs, which require sustained and almost day-to-day participation by the villagers, there are other social education activities like *vikas melas*, exhibitions, *shibris* or training camps for villagers, campaigns or drives for one activity or another—which require only occasional participation. In contrast to the former, these occasional community activities have been found to have a much wider popular appeal. As the institution of our numerous festivals perhaps seems to indicate, spontaneous concentrated effort in a short period is perhaps better suited to the requirements of rural life than sustained effort over a long period. The almost universal failure of activities of a 'club type' and the strong appeal of activities requiring occasional participation is an experience which needs special study, especially for the lessons it can provide for the future formulation of programmes in this field. An example may be given from the Kolhapur project of Bombay. The adult literacy programme had been going on in a routine manner in this project for two years and had created no special enthusiasm. In the third year, a series of *shibirs* (training camps for villagers) were organised in which besides recreation and cultural activities, various aspects of the project programme were explained by the project specialists. It is reported that these *shibirs* have become very popular and have also proved useful for creating an awareness of the value of improved practices in different fields of project activity.

Some Suggestions for the Future.

In considering the future of this programme, it seems clear that the "targets and number of activities" approach is particularly unsuitable in this field. For instance, if a village succeeds in doing just one activity, say putting on a dramatic performance on its own initiative, this may indicate a greater advance towards building a vigorous community life than taking on half a dozen activities primarily on the initiative of the project staff. There should be less emphasis on giving 'centres' or facilities and more on building up the communities to receive these. Some really effective criteria should be devised to determine whether the community really wants a given facility before it is given to it. This may reduce the pace of progress in physical terms, but this will be more than compensated by the gains in spontaneity and permanence in social activities among the people.

Secondly, the current tendency to establish a standard programme of activities in all States and projects should be replaced by greater variation in the major contents of the programme, .and in the content of each individual item, so as to suit the wide variety of social, economic and cultural conditions in different parts of the country. This adaptation to local culture and social life is more important in this than in perhaps any other field of project activity. Also, in promoting any particular item in the programme, the traditional ways of doing things in the area should be taken into account. Thus, among the few instances of successful youth or recreation clubs in all the Evaluation Centres, the *akhadas* in Kolhapur—Bombay are the most prominent. These traditional institutions of physical culture and recreation have a strong appeal in Maharashtra and have been revitalised in the project period. Such traditional institutions with suitable modifications to suit present-day requirements are likely to be far more acceptable than types like 'clubs' which are completely alien to the local culture.

Finally, there is need for greater emphasis on activities in which the people themselves take initiative and which can serve as the natural medium of expression for them. Thus a *bhajan mandli* or a dramatic club is to be preferred to an entertainment party organised by the project. The latter grows stale after a time; but the former continues to interest in spite of repetition and can actually become a powerful influence for promoting the community spirit in action. In this connection, the example of Haripura in Mandya project of Mysore offers a notable illustration. In this village it had been found by the P.E.O. in a special study some years ago that there were strong traditional rivalries as a result of which virtually no development activity could be taken up for more than two years* It is now reported by him that the formation of a dramatic club to stage traditional religious plays in which all factions in the village participated, was the starting point for a wave of enthusiasm which has lead the villagers to undertake a large number of development activities in the village.

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*Leadership and Groups in a South Indian Village.

CHAPTER XII: GROWTH OF CO-OPERATIVE ENDEAVOUR

The completed project period has seen a large expansion in the number of co-operative societies in most of the project areas, a large number of credit societies have been converted into multi-purpose societies, new multi-purpose societies have been set up, and the co-operative form of organisation newly introduced in a number of rural economic activities. All this would appear to convey the impression that the Community Development and N.E.S. programmes have greatly benefited the co-operative movement in these areas, both in terms of expansion and of increased stability.

There can be no doubt that the C.D. and N.E.S. programmes have created material conditions that are favourable for the expansion of the co-operative movement in their areas. Thus, the greately increased flow of funds into these areas, both for purposes of agricultural loans and for construction, have made it possible for the co-operative societies to recover some of the business they lost at the end of the war and post-war period of food and allied controls. In particular, the distribution of seeds and fertilizers supported by a more liberal system of credits has facilitated the strengthening of the co-operative movement and led to the greater appreciation of the cooperative principle by the cultivating classes. They have also made possible the extension of co-operative endeavour into some other fields of rural economic activity. The special interest the project staff were expected to show in the co-operative movement by its inclusion in the project programme in their areas, and the appointment of a co-operative supervisor to create the necessary atmosphere and render organisational aid have also been factors tending to expand and strengthen the co-operative movement in their areas. The question for consideration is how far the factors mentioned above have created the permanent or self-sustaining conditions necessary for the maintenance and expansion of the progress achieved by the co-operative movement during the project period.

With a view to assessing the impact of the C. D. and N.E.S. movement on the co-operative movement in the project areas, the P.E.Os. were asked to conduct a quick survey of the co-operative societies in their blocks, choosing a few societies for detailed inquiry. The survey was necessarily of a summary character and cannot be regarded as a full-length and comprehensive inquiry into the subject. Nevertheless, it has been possible to obtain enough data to furnish an outline of the progress of the co-operative movement in the project areas.

It is seen that the C.D. and N.E.S. programme has been quite uneven in its impact on the cooperative movement. To some extent, this was the result of the uneven development that already existed in these areas before the advent of the project programmes. But there is no doubt that it was also due to the enthusiasm or the indifference shown by the project staff in the building up of the co-operative movement in their areas. Thus, in one project area, the co-operative supervisor attached to the project himself functioned as secretary to an artisan society set up in that area. In another project area, an industrial cooperative society, starting with 25

members, reached a membership of 235 within two years and, operating with success, had a paid secretary provided for it from project funds. But, in another project area, it was reported that the project staff were not at all helping the co-operative department staff in organising societies, enrolling new members etc., while in still another area it was reported that the failure of some non-agricultural co-operative societies formed therein was largely due to the negligence of the project authorities. There is also a considerable degree of variation in the methods adopted for channelling the distribution of improved seeds and fertilizers in the different project areas. In some areas, the project authorities took the initiative in channelling this distribution through co-operative societies, while in others they either showed indifference about the agency selected for distribution or deliberately preferred the administrative machinery of government for the purpose. Evidently, the project staff in all the areas have not been sufficiently oriented in regard to the importance of the cooperative agency in rural development. It must be added in fairness that in some cases, co-operative societies themselves have not shown much enthusiasm for taking up this work either because the commission they got was not considered sufficient to meet their overheads or because they did not have the necessary facilities for storage. All this is a matter of serious concern, in view of the importance that the Planning Commission and the country attach to the role of co-operation in rural development.

It is also matter of concern that practically all the P.E.Os. are agreed that multi-purpose co-operative societies are multi-purpose mostly in name and that in the vast majority of cases, they just function as credit societies. Even when they have activities additional to credit, it is mostly distribution of fertilizers (or of improved seed) and not marketing of output or joint use of production facilities. In a few areas like Kolhapur (Bombay) and Erode (Madras), an attempt has been made to promote the system of 'integrated finance' by channelling distribution of fertilizers in kind through co-operative societies and required the loanees to sell their out put to existing co-operative marketing societies in their neighbourhood. This experiment has just been started in Erode, while it has been at work for some time in Kolhapur. In the latter area, the existing number of co-operative marketing societies proved inadequate and new co-operative shops were opened. This has greatly facilitated recovery of cane finance in that area. In this area, the P.E.O. has also reported that the cultivators are already feeling the impact of this programme in the greater freedom that they now feel from the grip of commission agents and all that they stand for. The effectiveness of these co-operatives is also reported to be slowly reshaping the leadership pattern in its villages and leading to a diminution in the influence of the middleman, the *sahukar* and the richer cultivator. In Uttar Pradesh also, a somewhat similar system of making available supplies of improved seed, fertilizers and other requirements of cane production on credit and recovery of the loans from the sales of canes has been developed through the Cane Development Unions. In view of the importance of this linking up of credit, supplies, and marketing, a theme which

has also been highlighted by the Rural Credit Survey Committee, it may perhaps be worthwhile instituting a more detailed study of this system and the possibilities of its extension to other crops, including foodgrains.

In some project areas, the cooperative principle is being extended to some other types of rural economic activity. Thus, e.g. in Kolhapur (Bombay), lift irrigation societies have been formed, though they have not yet started functioning due to the inevitable delay in collecting the large sum of Rs. 60,000 which each society requires for getting the credit needed for operating the scheme, which is estimated to cost Rs. 2 lakhs each. The four societies started during the project period are expected to bring nearly 2500 acres of land under irrigation, besides eliminating the dependence of the sugarcane growers on the owners of oil engines, who are reported to wield considerable economic power. Another type of irrigation society, however, *viz.* the weir-cum-bridges society is already in operation in this project area. These bridges help to conserve the river waters during the post-flood period to be conveniently pumped out by oil engines and utilised for irrigation. Each scheme costs Rs. 2 lakhs and members have to collect 1/3rd of the cost as share capital. Five such societies have been organised so far, with a total membership of 1861 and a share capital of about Rs. 245,000. In view of the important role that such irrigation cooperatives may play in other areas, it may be of wider interest to draw attention to some of the difficulties experienced in their operation. Thus, there has been a tendency of farmers downstream to take more water and extend their area under irrigation, resulting in shortage of water up-stream and leading to the farmers up-stream declining to pay their dues to the society. There has also been a tendency on the part of non-members to instal pumps and tap the water for irrigation and the societies have been unable to prevent this practice. It is clear, therefore, that some new problems beyond the control of individual cooperative societies have been thrown up by these irrigation societies and these may require the incorporation of suitable provisions in the co-operative laws in order to facilitate the growth of cooperation in this field.

Attention may also be drawn to the labour construction societies which have been formed in Sonepat and Batala (Punjab). These have done some useful work in providing unskilled labour on a cooperative basis for the construction works of the canal department and P.W.D. It is also stated that they are having some difficulties both in respect of the technical quality of their work and of promptness in getting payment. In view of the fact that this kind of society directly benefits one of the most important under-privileged classes in rural society and the need for exploring the possibilities of its introduction in other areas, it would be worthwhile making a detailed case study of these societies, as also of the practice reported from Bihar where some *panchayats* have directly undertaken some construction work on a contractual basis. The P.E.O. hopes to include this item in their programme for the current financial year.

Industrial cooperatives have been formed in a number of project areas. We have something more to say on this in the next section. Here it is sufficient to note that in most cases, the initiative has been almost entirely official and the general experience of their working is not one of success. In some cases, they have not started functioning at all, while in others they have hardly made any progress except in some areas with well-established cooperative traditions like Kolhapur and Erode, where cooperation has made some headway among leather-workers in the former area and among weavers in the latter area. In Erode, an interesting experiment is now in progress, where principles of integrated finance are sought to be applied to artisans, with credit, supplies and marketing linked up in one combined operation. It is still too early to assess its working, but the experiment undoubtedly needs watching. By and large, however, success has not attended industrial co-operatives in the project areas and it is reported that even what little success they have till now will vanish when government funds are withdrawn from their support. The fact is that cooperation cannot succeed on a stable basis unless the membership as well as the executive are properly educated in regard to both the privileges and the obligations of cooperation. Mere finance or even supply of supervisory skill will not do. This is well illustrated by a bamboo-mat society in a project area, which failed in spite of the fact that its president was the Social Education Officer attached to the project and its secretary a V.L.W.

The basic importance of education in understanding the objectives of co-operation and willingness to abide by the responsibilities it involves is well brought out by the experience of the movement in the project areas. Except for a few project areas, where cooperative traditions had long been prevalent and cooperative institutions well established before the project period, P.E.O.s. from different blocks are agreed that the movement is still largely official in initiative, and support, and has not evoked that sense of identification and member responsibility without which there can be no real or lasting progress in the cooperative movement. Inquiries made from members in more than one project area revealed that they had practically no knowledge about the working of their societies, hardly attended any of the meetings of the societies and regarded them simply, as one way of obtaining credit. It was reported practically from all the Evaluation Centres that most multi-purpose societies were just functioning as credit societies in spite of their new look; and that even when they functioned as seed or fertilizer distribution societies, they did so in many cases mainly on the basis of the initiative shown by the project staff and the credit and supplies furnished by them. In only one centre has it been reported that cultivators are now coming forward on their own to organise themselves into cooperatives for securing improved seeds and fertilizers. Where the project staff have not shown any special interest there has been but little real progress; and where they have shown initiative, there has been progress but not in the sense of really establishing, stable popular roots for its growth. Number of cooperative societies formed during the project period is not sufficient indication of the real or enduring growth of the cooperative movement in the project areas. The facts which matter are the proportion of registered societies which are actually at work,

the nature and volume of their business, the status of arrears and recoveries, and above all, the presence of a sense of identification and responsible participation in the working of the cooperative society. Judged by these criteria, the situation in regard to the cooperative movement in the project areas is, by and large, not satisfactory. What is clear is that more importance needs to be given in the project areas to the question of education in cooperation. The project staff must suitably be oriented for this task and more emphasis placed on the quality of the cooperative societies functioning within a project area than merely on a given increase in its number.

Most of the difficulties which arise in the working of cooperatives can be traced basically to the lack of knowledge of the principles of corporation, lack of appreciation of cooperation as a mode of work, or a means of improving one's economic condition among the people and frequently even among the cooperative workers. Take even an area like Uttar Pradesh, Bhathat where cooperation is well developed in many forms. There are the Cane Development Unions which as mentioned above operate a developed system of integrated marketting-*cum*-finance; there are developed channels of cooperative distribution, *viz.*, the seed stores; cooperative credit societies exist in almost every village and there are other forms of co-operatives like brick-kiln co-operatives. But even in this area, it is the view of the P.E.O. that the cooperative structure derives its strength largely from the efforts of the official agency, most of the members being uninterested in the working of the societies. In another co-operatively well developed State (Punjab—Batala and Sonepat), where under the project programmes co-operation has seen considerable expansion, the cooperative societies are regarded merely as media for getting loans cheaper than from the money lenders. It is this kind of ignorance and apathy which is perhaps the main reason for another difficulty, namely, of misuse of cooperative funds by members generally or by interested influential members.

It must be recognised that cooperation is not just a technique of economic organisation. On the contrary, cooperation is a way of life, embodying a philosophy that requires both understanding, acceptance and positive action on the part of its individual membership. It is in this sense that cooperation goes together with democracy and gives vitality and permanence to the latter in the economic sphere. Promotion of cooperation in this sense takes time and prolonged effort. It cannot just be rushed nor translated in terms of target numbers of cooperative societies. Analogies of vast and rapid extensions of cooperatives drawn from countries with radically differing political systems are not really relevant in the Indian context. Enduring progress in a democratic society has to base itself essentially on voluntary effort. Once this is understood, the C.D. and N.E.S. staff can play a great and valuable role in promoting the growth of the cooperative movement in India. They will then set themselves to the task not only of increasing the number of cooperative societies in the project areas, but also of creating those conditions of popular education, popular initiative and popular responsibility, with which alone the cooperative movement can have an enduring progress.

CHAPTER XIII: PROGRAMMES FOR COTTAGE INDUSTRIES

Community projects as originally conceived in 1952 and subsequently developed in 1953 and later years, did include the promotion of cottage industries and attention to the needs of the artisan classes as part of their programme. There was, however, no special machinery devised for the purpose nor was any provision made for subject specialists on this account. There was no comprehensive programme formulated for the artisan class on the lines of those for the cultivating classes, either in terms of extension or of supplies. All that had been done was the institution of a few production-*cum* training centres with emphasis mainly on training, and provision for grants and loans to individual artisans and cooperatives either for purchase of implements or for working capital. This was perhaps inevitable in view of the dominant emphasis laid on agriculture in the First Five Year Plan. Previous Evaluation Reports had pointed out the inadequacy of the programme arranged for artisans and its relevance to the problem of extending the benefits of Community Development and National Extension Service programmes to all sections of the rural population, especially its handicapped or under-privileged classes. It was in the light of these observations as well as of the new emphasis on employment and small industries that the Second Five Year Plan contained that it was decided by the Community Projects Administration in the middle of 1955 to take up an intensive programme of development of cottage and small scale industries in the country. For this purpose, it was decided to set up 25 pilot projects in different parts of the country and locate them in existing Community Development Block areas. The areas where these pilot projects have been set up are given in the statement at the end of this section. 17 of these projects have been studied by the Project Evaluation Officers during the year under review.

It may be useful to give a brief outline of the objectives underlying these pilot projects as well as the machinery set up for the achievement of these objectives. The objectives of these pilot projects were to set up an integrated regional plan for the development of small and cottage industries in the rural areas, provide an extension service for the artisans and workers engaged in these occupations, help in organising the supplies and credit they needed, and take up an immediate programme for their benefit. The field machinery proposed was a Community Project Officer for industries—C.P.O. (I) having jurisdiction over an area approximately the old Community Project areas, *i.e.* about three blocks of 100 villages each. Under him there are to be three block level officers for industrial extension one for each block. The rest of the staff, who will assist him in individual industrial programmes, were to be financed by the different All-India Boards set up for assisting small scale and cottage industries, and attached to the individual programme approved and financed by these Boards. In effect, the C.P.O. (I) was to service a number of All-India Boards for small scale and cottage industries. In order to give him co-ordinated direction as well as to secure coordination in the administration of his programmes, the

C.P.O. (I) was to work directly under the Development Commissioner. The Development Commissioner was placed at the head of a State Action Committee, which included representatives of the concerned State Departments and Regional Small Scale Industries Service Institutes as also of the All-India Boards, with the C.P.O. (I) as Secretary. At the Centre is an Action Committee with the Minister for Community Development as Chairman with the objective of guidance and effective coordination of the various agencies in the pilot project areas. There are to be, in addition, Action Committees for the project areas, and for the village group areas, for which village industrial workers were to be appointed. The exact relations between the C.P.Os(I), the Collectors, and the District Officers of the Industries and Cooperative Departments, and the Block Development staff were not clearly defined. Assisting the C.P.Os(I) in their task of devising long range integrated programmes were special survey teams set up by the Union Ministry of Industries and Commerce which have visited 12 project areas in the first instance and will visit the others after they have drawn up their reports on the first twelve. In addition to the Industries Departments in the States, there were also available for the implementation of this programme four regional Small-scale Industries Service Institutes with their branches and centres in different parts of the country for purposes of research and technical guidance.

The scheme has been in operation for hardly a year. In fact, the C.P.Os joined their project areas after training only in the early months of 1956. In a number of States, however, block level officers have not yet joined, while two States have gone ahead of the programme and appointed village industries organisers for groups of 15 to 20 villages each in the project areas. Nor have either Project or village groups Action Committees been set up in most States. Thus, the full complement of the administrative machinery needed for the programme has not yet been set up in most of the projects. It is, therefore, too early to attempt any evaluation of this programme. Nevertheless, from the reports made by the P.E.Os as well as from the recent seminar discussion at Rajgir, it is possible to make a few observations.

It seems already clear that a great deal of fundamental thinking is necessary from the point of view of the long range success of these programmes. The problems faced in the pilot projects are in some way much more difficult than those in the normal Community Project and National Extension Service programmes, for it is not merely a question of bringing the new technology, timely supplies and adequate credit to individual artisans, but also that of marketing and of group organisation. Thus, *e.g.*, one finds an emphasis in this programme on co-operatives that one does not find in the agricultural programme, and there is simultaneously an attempt at bringing about cooperative organisation and carrying aid to the individual artisans, which may perhaps prove too much to implement with success in the short period. There is also the problem of reconciling the carrying of new knowledge and skills to practising artisans or extension proper, and the imparting of long period training to new workers, who may or may not return to the countryside. The exact

role of extension methods and of training programmes in the great task of bringing fresh knowledge, larger incomes and new hopes to the artisan class has to be thought out in much greater detail than has been done so far; and this should be done in the light of the experience already gained in the C.D. and N.E.S. areas both with regard to agriculture as well as cottage industries. Then there are the problems of administrative coordination created by the multiplicity of agencies working in this field. From the reports received from practically all the P.E.Os it is clear that problems of coordination, of procedures and sanctions, and of financial powers are all creating an even larger problem for the implementation of these pilot project programmes than they did in the case of the community development programmes. Similarly, great stress has been laid on the problems created by all-India rigidities of patterns in programmes relating to individual industries and the need for flexibility and freedom of adaptation to local requirements and circumstances. It is true that these problems are under active consideration and that steps have been taken or are under consideration to delegate more financial powers to the C.P.O. and also vest power for final sanction in the State Action Committees. All the same, the questions involved in the fact that the programmes to be implemented are those of a number of statutory All-India Boards, while the implementing agency has to be a special machinery set up by the State Governments do present a somewhat unique administrative problem, which has got to be thrashed out in consultation with the Boards in question. Then there is the important problem of securing long range coordination, if not integration, of these programmes with the machinery set up for development under the C.D., N.E.S. and P.I.P. patterns. Obviously, cottage industries and small scale industries in rural areas do form a part of rural development; and it is important to see that not only are the programmes concerning them duly corelated with those relating to other sectors of rural society, but also that they follow the same broad objective *viz.*, of social change, increased productivity, and equitable distribution between sub-groups. The exact relation of the C.P.O.(I) with B.D.O., the role of the village level worker in the programme of industrial extension, and the relation between the proposed village industries organiser and the village level worker are all matters which need attention and thinking even at this preliminary stage of the programme for small scale and cottage industries in the rural areas. Similarly also, it is important even at this stage to do some more thinking on the pattern of industrial extension envisaged in the pilot projects in the light of the fact that while service artisans are more or less evenly spread over the country, craftsmen proper like handloom weavers tend to be concentrated in some areas. Therefore, it may be necessary not to adopt a strict area-based pattern which is satisfactory for agricultural extension work but may not be equally so for industrial extension.

As regards progress of the schemes in different centres, perhaps the maximum advance has been made in the Nayatinkara project in Kerala. Here, the programmes of the Handloom Board were already well established and these could be quickly expanded. Handloom Board schemes have made a start in a number of other

projects also. Programmes of the Khadi and Village Industries Board and the Small Scale Industries Board have also been started in a number of areas. In this connection it would be of interest to mention that in a few areas (*e.g.*, Deoband-U.P.) the Ambar Charkha programe appears to have made a favourable start. In this area, the Charkhas are becoming popular among village women who can earn some extra income in their spare time, and arrangements have also been made for manufacture of these by local carpenters. It has also been reported from Silchar (Assam) that two weaving centres opened in that area have attracted the special attention of women workers, who are traditionally accustomed to weaving in that region. Taking the country as a whole, the Handloom Board has so far sanctioned schemes worth Rs. 24·5 lakhs, the All-India Khadi and Village Industries Board Rs. 20 lakhs, the Small Scale Industries Board Rs. 4·2 lakhs, and the Handicrafts Board Rs. 50,000. No sanctions are reported to have been given so far by the Silk and Coir Boards. Considering the size of the amounts placed at the disposal of these Boards during the Second Five Year Plan (amounting to Rs. 200 crores for both urban and rural areas), it is clear that the programme has only just made a beginning.

As has been already stated above, it is too early to attempt any evaluation of the pilot project programmes, which really constitute the first organised and large scale attempt in India to cater to the needs of the artisan class in the rural areas. What is needed is a special inquiry into all the manifold aspects of the programme and in the general context of rural development. This could well be taken up by the P.E.O. as a part of its programme during the current financial year. Meanwhile, the following tentative suggestions are offered more as a starting point for discussion than as specific recommendations:

(1) The artisans who are in urgent need of assistance from the project are those who are actually practising their profession, either for producing goods for the market or for selling services to the cultivators and other rural classes. What they are in need of is industrial extension in its widest sense. It is not possible for them to leave their work and go in for long periods of training. Knowledge and the stimulus to change must be taken to their doorstep if they are to get the benefits of the project programme. There must, therefore, be much greater stress on peripatetic parties, mobile vans, and audo-visual aids, than on training programmes requiring long periods of stay. On the analogy of demonstration plots in agriculture, selected artisans must be induced to go in for new methods and let their work serve as demonstration centres. Rural seminars and group meetings should be organised among artisans in the block or project area on an occupational basis, leader tours by exceptionally good artisans arranged, and prizes instituted for exceeding certain norms of efficiency which may be laid down for each area. All these methods have been tried with success in respect of the cultivating classes in the C.D. and N.E.S. areas, and there is no reason why they should not be extended to the artisan class.

(2) Special care should be taken in the selection of trainees as well as in the choice of the crafts in which training is to be given.

There is no use giving training to persons who are not going to take up the occupation concerned or in crafts the products of which have no market in the rural areas. This statement has special relevance in the light of the experience gathered by the P.E.Os. about the working of the Production-cum-training centres in the Community Project areas.

(3) While the organising of artisans in industrial co-operatives is undoubtedly a matter of high priority, it must not be assumed that the only real obstacle is finance which therefore can be met by loans for the purchase of shares. An industrial cooperative requires for its success certain qualities in its members, which are not readily present among most rural artisans and for understandable reasons. A long and persistent process of education is required and it would be a tragedy if this were to be ignored in an attempt to achieve targets by showing a large number of industrial cooperatives within a given period. In the meanwhile, the individual artisan badly requires assistance both for purchase of raw materials and of improved or new implements. Thus, *e.g.*, formation of credit co-operatives or even the institution of industrial equivalents of taccavi loans to individual artisans may be better as a first step than insistence on membership in an industrial cooperative here and now as a necessary condition for assistance. It will also be more realistic if attention were to be concentrated in the first instance on established cottage industries for supplies of credit rather than take on at one step credit, supplies, marketing, and skills through one co-operative organisation. It may also be useful to follow the practice which has been reported to have met with success in some centres, *viz.*, making the village industries organiser *ex-officio* secretary of the industrial co-operative whenever one is formed.

(4) It is important to take due note from the very beginning of the role of the village industries organiser as an extension worker. For this purpose, it is important to organise adequate courses of training for village industries organisers which will include not only subject orientation, but also proper training in extension methods and especially in group organisation and personal relations. Training is even more important in the case of these workers than in that of V. L. Ws. Immediate steps therefore, should be taken to set up an adequate training machinery.

(5) The principle should be clearly recognised by all concerned that the C.P.Os and Block Industrial Officers are primarily a part of an extension movement, that they are subject specialists, and that they should be appropriately linked with the District Officer and the B.D.O., who are the area specialists for rural development.

(6) In view of the importance of credit in industrial rehabilitation and the need for seeing that credit is made available not only to creditworthy persons but also for creditworthy purposes, every project area should have a special industrial credit committee on which the C.P.O., the District Industries Officer, the State Bank, the

Co-operative Central Bank, the B.D.O. and the Co-operative Department should be represented.

(7) Some method should be devised for securing popular participation on the part of the artisan class in the choice and implementation of the programmes intended for their betterment. As in the case of agriculture, so also in the case of cottage industries, planning should not merely be a matter for the experts.

Statement

Pilot Projects for Cottage and Small Scale Industries

Sl. No.	Pilot Project/State
*1.	Kakinada-Peddapuram (Andhra Pradesh).
*2.	Muvg (Andhra Pradesh).
*3.	Darrang (Assam).
*4.	Bihar Sharif (Bihar).
*5.	Kolhapur (Bombay).
*6.	Amravati (Bombay).
*7.	Manavadar-Vanthali (Bombay).
8.	Bhuj Nakhatrana (Bombay).
*9.	Dabra (Madhya Pradesh).
*10.	Sehore (Madhya Pradesh).
11.	Sohawal (Madhya Pradesh).
*12.	Gobe-Erode (Madras).
*13.	Russelkonda (Orissa).
*14.	Batala (Punjab).
15.	Dhuri-Melorkotla (Punjab).
*16.	Deoband (Uttar Pradesh).
*17.	Baruipur (West Bengal).
18.	Badagaum (Jammu & Kashmir).
*19.	Ramanagram (Mysore).
20.	Sanganer (Rajasthan).
21.	Pisangan (Rajasthan).
*22.	Neyyattinkara (Kerala).
23.	Alipur (Delhi).
*24.	Kunihar-Bahl (Himachal Pradesh)
25.	Nutanhaveli & Old Agartala (Tripura).

The Projects marked *have been studied by the P.E.O.

CHAPTER XIV: LOANS PROGRAMMES

In the community projects of the 1952-53 series, a large provision was made for loans. In the schematic budget of these projects more than 45% of the total out-lay was in the shape of loans, and in the budgets of the individual projects studied by the P. E. O., large amounts ranging between 40 and 60% of the total budgets were provided for loans. Irrigation, reclamation and village arts and crafts were the most important items for which loan provisions were made.

The availability of these large loan funds came at a time when there were, nominally at any rate, a number of loans agencies already functioning and loans were available from a number of sources. Thus, *e.g.*, co-operative societies, land mortgage banks and some of Government departments were giving loans for various purposes. The Land Mortgage Bank loans were available only in a few areas and were not very important quantitatively because of the small number of cultivators who could benefit from them. Cooperatives and Government departments were thus the two main sources of institutional finance. The Departments of Agriculture and Revenue had been giving substantial loans under the G. M. F. and other schemes of agricultural development for some years. Small loans were available for other purposes also, especially for development of cottage industries, housing etc., Loans from co-operative societies are in most cases short-term loans available for purchase of seed, manure and for other agricultural operations. But, medium term loans were also available for minor irrigation and other purposes in some areas. The coming of the projects meant a great increase in the loan funds available for development purposes, and a larger coverage of the rural population. But a second result was the addition of yet another agency to those existing already in the field of loan finance.

Utilisation of Loan Funds

The loan funds provided in the project budgets have not been fully utilised, the percentages of utilisation being considerably lower than those of non-loan funds. In case of 12 projects of the 1952-53 series for which data was obtained by the P. E. O., utilisation of loan funds is only about 70% as compared with 85% for the 'other than loan' funds. The figures of advances to individual cultivators, artisans etc., are much less than even the above figures of loan utilisation, because in many projects large amounts out of the loan funds were transferred to State departments for such purposes as construction of irrigation works (Bhathat-U.P.) and rural electrification (Erode-Madras).

In most of the projects, 50% or more of the loan funds were provided for irrigation. These were available to cultivators for construction or improvement of wells, for purchase of pumps, installation of tube-wells or in a few cases to cooperative societies for irrigation schemes (*e.g.*, in Kalhapur—Bombay, Kakinada—Andhra). These loans have been utilised by large numbers of cultivators in only a few projects, notably Batala—Punjab, Manavadar—Bombay,

Rajpur—M.P. and to a lesser extent in projects like Kolhapur—Bombay, Erode—Madras, Kakinada—Andhra. It must be remembered, however, that irrigation loans can be utilized by cultivators to augment irrigation facilities only in those areas where irrigation by cultivators themselves is already well developed.

In many projects large funds were provided under 'Agriculture and Animal Husbandry' for loans. These were mainly used for giving short-term loans for sale of fertilizers on credit. In some projects the amounts were very substantial *e.g.*, Kakinada, Erode, Md. Bazar. Reclamation loans have been generally difficult to utilize because of limited possibilities of reclamation in most project areas. Extensive utilisation has been reported from only two areas —Kolhapur and Manavadar both of Bombay. In the former, these loans were utilized mainly for purposes other than reclamation. These were used by cultivators to buy shares of Cooperative Sugar Factories as also to give their matching contributions to project development works. Loans for 'rural arts and crafts' have been available only to cooperative societies of artisans in some project areas but, in others, also to individual artisans. Excepting the Mohd. Bazar Block of West Bengal where very small amounts were distributed to artisans without security, these loans have not been extensively availed of.

As mentioned above, the other loan agencies existing in the project area continued to operate during the project period. The cooperative societies as explained in Chapter XII, experienced a considerable expansion both in numbers and in their loan operations during the project period. In some cases, some of the project loans were also channelled through the co-operative system. But, by and large, project loans were advanced through the official machinery. Loans were made on the recommendation of the Grama Sevaks, subject matter specialists, and the Project Officer; recovery of the loans was the responsibility of the Revenue Department. In several cases, project loans are reported to have competed with the co-operative loans, as those were available on more favourable terms e.g., on lower rates of interest. In any case, the possibilities of strengthening the co-operative structure with the large loan funds available in the project budgets have not been utilized to any significant extent.

Administrative Inadequacies

It was found that in most cases, the areas were not receptive enough for absorbing these large loan amounts. But even for utilising the amounts actually disbursed, the project staff and Grama Sevaks had often to make considerable efforts. In the less developed agricultural areas, where cultivators are poor and have very limited resources, these large loan amounts were particularly difficult to utilize, and the project authorities have perhaps given loans knowing that repayment will be difficult. It has also been reported from one project area that the same person received loans several times even if he had not paid back the amounts borrowed earlier, and that influential persons were particularly successful in availing of the different kinds of loans. Also, as was pointed in the last Evaluation Report, there has frequently been no

check of the total liabilities of a borrower by the advancing agencies before making a fresh loan, so that in many projects, some cultivators have succeeded in getting large amounts, which it will be difficult for them to pay back. Steps are, however, in contemplation in some areas to provide for prior scrutiny. Lack of adequate staff for collection or lack of co-ordination between the advancing and the recovering agencies are the other factors leading to accumulation of large arrears, which have been reported from a number of projects.

Beneficiaries

Most of these loans have been available to the cultivators. This has been due partly to the fact that land is about the only security that can be furnished in the rural areas. A second reason is that programmes of loans for agriculture were longer established and better developed than, *e.g.*, of loans for cottage industries. Among the cultivators, cultivating owners have been the main beneficiaries, because many of the tenants could not furnish the needed security. Among the cultivating owners, those with medium and large holdings have been able to benefit much more than the small holders, because they alone could furnish the needed securities, and were also in a better position to undertake the improvements *e.g.*, installation of a pumping set, buying a tractor than the small holders. Short-term loans, however, have been utilized by the smaller cultivators in large number. In some projects like Erode—Madras, programmes of special small loans have been in existence, which have been extensively availed of by the small cultivators. In Pusa—Bihar, petty cash amounts (not exceeding Rs. 50) have been lent without security. Loans under rural arts and crafts have been given most frequently to co-operative societies of artisans. In a few areas, they have been given to individuals also. In West Bengal, small loans have been given without security to individual artisans in large numbers. These loans are in the nature of 'rehabilitation loans' as they have enabled the artisans to buy raw materials, implements and to work more regularly on the crafts. Obviously, such small amounts cannot be adequate for making any substantial improvement in production techniques. The *Harijans* have benefited especially from housing loans which have been availed of in a few areas (*e.g.*, Erode).

The Effects of Loans

Wherever irrigation or reclamation loans have been extensively utilized, these have led to an increase in agricultural production. Availability of loan funds in adequate measure has been a major factor in facilitating investment on the part of cultivators in the land improvements needed for utilization of irrigation waters, *e.g.*, in Erode—Madras (Lower Bhawani project). Similarly, these loans have contributed very substantially to investment in irrigation and land reclamation measures, following consolidation of holdings in the Punjab projects. Continued availability of loans for irrigation and other land improvement measures in such areas where there are considerable possibilities of increase in agricultural production, and especially for ensuring fuller utilisation of the facilities being made available by the large irrigation works, will be a great advantage for the development of the areas concerned.

The easy availability of loan funds coupled with inadequate and defective arrangements for checking of existing liabilities and recovery is not a happy combination. In fact, considering the way the loans have been given in some projects, the percentages of default may well prove to be substantial. Apart from the financial loss, the psychological effect of this on the people cannot also be beneficial.

Need for a Loans Policy

Financial assistance from the State, mainly in the form of loans has already become and will continue to be in future, a very important instrument for stimulating development in rural areas. That loans should as far as possible be channelled through the cooperative structure is an objective on which there is general agreement. But it appears likely that at least for some time to come this will remain only an objective and, Government will have to give loans directly to cultivators, artisans and other villagers. As the total volume of rural credit, and the range of activities for which it will be available are likely to increase greatly in future, it is more than likely that in spite of increasing diversion to the cooperative sector, direct Government lending will not only not decrease substantially from the present level, but may in fact increase. In view of this, the need for a well-defined and comprehensive policy for the loan programmes cannot be over-emphasised. The purposes of the loans, the criteria for selection of the beneficiaries, the manner of coordination between the different lending departments of the Government, between the lending departments and the Revenue Departments, and between the lending departments and the cooperative agencies should all be clearly defined. It is also important to ensure that the flow of loan funds not only contributes to the objective of economic development, but also assists the under-privileged sections in the rural areas to improve both their economic position and their capacity to contribute to the productive resources of the community.

CHAPTER XV: SOME ASPECTS OF SOCIAL CHANGE

Introduction

The present enquiry is the first attempt to undertake a study more specifically related to assessment of social change. Such an assessment is a difficult task, partly because of paucity of basic statistical data, and also because the concepts and methods in this field are not well developed. The present study by the Evaluation Officers represents only a preliminary attempt and it is hoped that it will be possible to follow it up with a more detailed enquiry. This study is connected with the other PEO studies, especially the Bench-Mark Survey and the Acceptance of Practices Survey because it has been conducted in three out of the six villages selected for the latter enquiries. In building up a picture of the changing economic and social life of these villages, therefore, the data of this study are complementary to the quantitative data collected through these two latter surveys.

This study was conducted by the Project Evaluation Officers between September and December 1956, in 17 evaluation centres (listed in Appendix I). The method of the study consisted of the

Evaluation Officers' stay in each of the three selected villages for a period of one week, in which he was engaged in observations of village life and interviews with respondents belonging to different social and economic groups. It may be mentioned that the Evaluation Officers have known these villages over a period of more than three years because they conducted the Bench-Mark Survey, the Acceptance of Practices Survey and other enquiries there and have also kept themselves in touch with developments in these. Therefore, besides the one-week stay for the specific purpose of this study, the Evaluation Officer's acquaintance with these villages for this entire period has gone into his observations.

Besides stay and interview in the selected villages, each P.E.O. had discussions with project and departmental officials and selected non-officials on various questions included in the study. These discussions were particularly important for the portions dealing with the attitude of the officials towards the people and co-operation between officials and non-officials. But, here also, the P.E.O.'s continuous touch with officials and non-officials in the area and his knowledge of the working of the projects/blocks of about 3-4 years has gone into his observations.

Criteria for Social Change: In a study of this kind the most important factor in the design of the enquiry is the selection of the criteria for measurement of change. Keeping in view the objectives, and the content of the programme, the following 6 criteria were selected for this study:

(1) Awareness among the rural people of possibilities of improvement through adoption of scientific methods in various fields of activity—agriculture, animal husbandry, health and sanitation, cottage industries etc;

(2) Confidence in their own ability to adopt these practices;

(3) Realization of advantages of co-operative action;

(4) Community life;

(5) Understanding and co-operation between the officials and non-officials;

(6) Awareness of possibilities of economic and social improvement through the development programmes and a feeling of participation in these, among the under-privileged groups.

It will be seen that in these criteria the emphasis is on *changes in attitudes and ways of thinking among the people*. These changes in attitude have inevitably to be expressed in concrete terms—adoption or rejection of a particular practice; success or failure of a co-operative venture or of an effort in community action; the working of an institution in which officials and non-officials come together etc., etc. These concrete situations and the reactions of the people towards them are the main materials on which the judgments of the Evaluation Officers are made. The individual project reports are full of references of this kind; this has enabled the P.E.O.s. to guard against any tendency on their part to generalise merely on the basis of their

own pre-conceptions. As these reports are being included in Vol. II of the Report, it also enables the reader to form his own judgment on the rate and direction of change in respect of different criteria.

Although the criteria of social change were designed keeping in view the objectives of the community development and national extension service programme, the changes revealed reflect the impact of all development programmes, project and non-project in the area, as also the effects of the general process of social and economic change in the country-side. It is almost impossible to separate the three influences in a preliminary enquiry of this nature, nor is such a separation considered necessary, because the primary function of the national extension service and community development programme is to serve as a spear-head for the general process of social and economic advance.

Results of the Survey: The data of the survey is presented in two parts. The individual reports from the Evaluation Centres appear in volume II of this report. The main findings of the study are presented in the following pages. Discussion on criterion 3 is not included in this part because, a separate chapter entitled 'Growth of Co-operative Endeavour' in which the results of this study are also incorporated, appears earlier in this volume.

Stages in Social Change: From the experience of this study, it appears possible and useful to distinguish several stages in the process of change. These stages are most clearly distinguished in case of an item of technological change *e.g.*, adoption of an improved agricultural practice; but are equally relevant for the other criteria also. The following five stages are suggested:

(a) awareness of the existence of an improvement or facility;

(b) passive acceptance by availing of the facility or improvement offered without any particular effort;

(c) preparedness to put in some effort, for availing of the facility or improvement;

(d) active acceptance i.e., preparedness to make the efforts needed for continuation of the improvement or facility;

(e) getting into an attitude of progress *e.g.*, trying new practices, making adaptations from recommended practices on own initiative.

This classification is admittedly a rough one and is meant only to illustrate the different kinds of situations which have been observed in different projects in the course of this survey. With future work, it should be possible to devise a more adequate and refined classification. But, the value of a classification of this kind consists in providing a tool for measuring the strength of the change that has occurred in a particular field. For example, the mere fact that an improved practice like an improved variety of seed has spread in a project area does not give an adequate indication of whether this change is going to be lasting or not; as it turns on the question whether acceptance of the practice is dependent only upon continuation of the existing facilities, or the people are prepared to continue with the practice even if these facilities are reduced or withdrawn.

But, if we can successfully make a classification of this nature and further through quantitative enquiries indicate the proportions of people who can be considered to be in the different stages of change, we have a much more precise indication of the strength of the change. The value of such knowledge as a guide for future policy cannot be over-emphasised.

The process of social change involves changes in the mental attitudes of the people, in the values, the cultural patterns and the economic organisation of the communities. Progress from one stage to the next involves successful overcoming of these resistances to change. In any given community at any time different individuals are in different stages of change. In stagnant communities, the bulk of the population has obviously not even reached stage one. But, frequently it would be found that even in such communities there are some people who are eager to change and might even have made some experiments on their own. In general, however, as the process of change proceeds, the proportion of people in successively advanced stages increases. The increase in the last two stages is particularly important. Until a sufficiently large proportion of the population reaches these stages, the process of change cannot be considered to have attained self-propelling proportions, where the communities are themselves willing and anxious to try new things and make improvements of their own.

We now proceed to review the results of this study.

Criteria (1) and (2)

These two criteria deal mainly with technological change, as these are concerned with adoption of improvements by villagers in agriculture, animal husbandry, prevention or cure of disease and other fields of development activity. As already stated, the primary aim of the study is to assess whether the improvements have been grasped and accepted and not merely record physical fact of adoption.

The first criterion deals with awareness of improvements, the second with the confidence of the villagers in their capacity to adopt these arising from successful adoption of at least some of them. The, first obviously represents the first stage in social change, the second a considerable advance in the form of acceptance. Since it is felt that it would be more useful to analyse the progress in respect of both these criteria by fields of endeavour, the two criteria are considered together for each field.

Agriculture

In the field of agricultural practices, the main improvements propagated by projects are the use of improved seed, use of chemical fertilizers and organic manures; composting, green manuring, improved methods of cultivation particularly the Japanese method of paddy cultivation and line sowing of crops, use of improved implements; plant protection measures; crop-rotations; growing of fruits and vegetables etc. etc.

The extent to which each individual improvement has been tried, accepted or rejected in different centres, is brought out in individual project reports. A few illustrations have been given here to draw attention to the more important points. Reference may here be made first to one noteworthy fact. It has been observed in all centres that among the large number of improvements which are carried on the list of the Grama Sevaks in every project, only a very few, seldom more than half a dozen and frequently not more than 2 or 3 have been found acceptable on any significant scale. The rest are either rejected or their acceptance is so small as not to be of any great importance. In view of this record of experience in almost all the centres, there is need for more careful and rigorous selection of the items to be propagated by the project staff. Only a few items should be selected keeping in view their feasibility and the economic importance of their widespread acceptance. Efforts of the project staff should be concentrated on making these truly and widely accepted instead of being distributed over a large number of items. All the snags in the widespread acceptance of these improvements should be progressively removed so that after a certain period of effort, the improvement is on the way to becoming an integral part of production methods in the area. Such concentration of effort on a few really important improvements would give better results both from the point of view of economic advancement of the area and the psychological impact upon the people. Wide-spread acceptance of a few practices will generate a psychology of progress and the cultivators themselves will be moved to further improvements. It has been observed that in the majority of the progressive areas of the country, it is only wide-spread adoption of a few practices, generally improved seed or chemical fertilizers, which gives these areas an air of progress and which leads the cultivators to be more receptive to new improvements as these come along.

Improved Seed: Propagation of improved seed is one of the oldest programmes in the field of agriculture and in many centres improved varieties were extensively used, at least for commercial crops and the cultivators were well aware of the advantages of the improved seed, even before the project started.

With the coming of the projects, efforts in propagation of improved seed were greatly increased. Supplies of seed already in use were considerably increased and improved seed of other crops were introduced. As a result of these efforts, there has been a considerable increase in the use of improved seed in most centres. The following few examples have been selected to illustrate a few kinds of acceptance situations observed.

Bhadrak (Orissa) and Silchar (Assam) are examples of comparatively less advanced agriculture areas. In Bhadrak, improved seed and other improved practices had begun to be adopted only with the coming of the project, the progress was slow and even at the end of the project period only a few cultivators in each village were seen using improved seed or fertilizers. In Silchar, on the other hand, although improved seed has been distributed in some quantities during the project period, consciousness of its value is still in an elementary stage. When asked a cultivator would say that improved seed

is good; but he does not value it enough to keep the unimproved and improved variety separately to be able to distinguish between the two. This kind of situation is undoubtedly found in other areas also and part of the reason is the indifferent quality of the 'improved' seed supplied to a large percentage of cultivators. Improved seed is still *seed* in these areas and is taken by the cultivators because it is available, anything else available at the time of sowing would do also. Another illustration which is of interest is that of Bhathat—U.P. Here improved seed has been extensively propagated for both paddy and the *rabi* crops, and has been accepted widely in the case of the latter. However, it was reported that non-members of cooperative societies who were given seed in the first year on the understanding that they would become members in due course did not show any great inclination to do so even at the risk of losing the facility of having improved seed from the cooperative stores. This may be considered a typical case of passive acceptance (stage 'b' above) *i.e.* if an improvement is easily available, there is acceptance, but any effort needed to effect the improvement is not welcome. It is doubtless that such acceptance would end in reversion to the old practice at the first sign of a difficulty. Manavadar—Bombay illustrates progress to an advanced stage of change within a few years. In this area, after successful acceptance of one improved variety of cotton, the cultivators are changing to the use of still another which was not accepted ever before. Awareness has gone to the stage where the cultivator is not only convinced of the use of improved seed as such but is prepared to try different types to maximise his advantage. Kolhapur presents an interesting case. In this area, the advantages of improved seed, use of fertilizers and other improved practices were widespread even before the project came. An improved variety of paddy was introduced but after four years of trial it has not been found widely acceptable. In spite of the fact that the cultivators were aware of the advantages of an improved practice, and were prepared to make the efforts to adopt it, this did not lead to extensive adoption because the practice did not meet with the local requirements. The experience with the Japanese method in this area is also interesting as it gives a very good indication of the level of consciousness of the cultivators. In the first year (1953), the majority of the cultivators were not keen to try this method and a very small area—about 100 acres—was sown according to this method. Successful results in later years led the cultivators to be progressively convinced of the merits of the method so that the area under it had increased nearly to 7,000 acres (out of 50,000 acres) under paddy in 1956. But the cultivators have accepted only those elements in the method which they considered most useful—regularly spaced sowing, lower seed rate, dibbling and use of chemical fertilizers. It is noteworthy, however, that they have had the initiative to apply the principles of regular sowing and less seed rate to another local grain crop—Nachna. Here we see the beginning of the last stage of change (stage 'e' referred to above), where the cultivators are themselves prepared to make adaptations on their own. A self-generating process of improvement can be seen to be beginning in this area.

Japanese Method: The experience with the Japanese method of paddy cultivation is of considerable interest as will be seen from the individual project reports. In this case, a process of pick and choose

from the large number of elements which comprise the method, and adaptation of the few suited to local conditions has been going on extensively. The result is that the term 'Japanese method' means very different things in different areas. All the recommendations are rarely, if ever, followed; one or more found acceptable by the cultivators are in vogue. As mentioned above, it is spaced sowing, dibbling and lower seed rate in Kolhapur and the principle has been extended to other crops. In a number of other centres, the method means only use of chemical fertilizers or sowing in lines. In a few centres, the method has not found acceptance because of alleged excessive requirements of labour as compared with the increase in yields that it gives (Manavadar—Bombay and Mohd. Bazar—West Bengal).

Plant Protection Measures: Plant protection measures particularly use of pesticides have made considerable progress in several areas (*e.g.* Chalakudy—Kerala and Pusa—Bihar). But it is interesting to note that the value of pesticides is appreciated for curing plant diseases and not for preventing their occurrence with the result that sometimes use of pesticides is started only after the disease is in an advanced stage. In Bhathat—U.P., plant protection meausres were accepted as long as these were being provided free by the project. This has been stopped in the post-intensive phase and there is no active demand from the cultivators even for its revival. This is an illustration of passive acceptance of the type mentioned as stage 'b' above. In Pusa—Bihar, on the other hand, partly because of greater need for spraying in this fruit growing area, there is greater awareness of the value of plant protection methods and people are prepared to undergo considerable effort to buy pesticides, and obtain sprayers in order to adopt these practices (stage 'd').

Improved Implements: Use of improved implements is most advanced in commercial crop growing areas like Sonepat, Batala, Kolhapur and Pusa where, besides cultivation implements, such implements as cane crushers and furnaces for making *gur* have also been in use for a long time. Advance in the adoption of improved cultivation implements has been very slow in most project areas; there is greater progress in adoption of such mechanical appliances as pumps for irrigation. An example of increase in awareness and acceptance of the possibilities which use of mechanical methods offers at particular points in the agricultural activity is afforded by Bodhan—Andhra, where there is reported to be such a great demand for tractor ploughing that the Agricultural Engineer feels that the number of tractors at his disposal is too small to meet it.

Animal Husbandry

In this field, the distinction between veterinary aid and measures to improve quality of livestock is of primary importance. The former *viz.*, veterinary facilities have been in existence for a considerably long time, and also because of the imminent danger of loss of cattle resulting from sickness, there is much greater sense of urgency about availing of them. Facilities to improve the quality of livestock have been comparatively recent introduction and as the effects of the improvements are visible over a much longer period, the acceptance of these practices can well be expected to be a much slower process.

Veterinary Aid.—Veterinary facilities have been increased as a part of the project programmes in most areas, and the cultivators who were already familiar with their advantages have availed of the new facilities as these have become available. In some less advanced areas, like Bhadrak—Orissa, where such facilities were not available before, their availability and acceptance by cultivators represent a change in attitude *i.e.*, acceptance of modern medicines in place of the traditional methods of cure. But it is significant that in only a few cases *e.g.*, Sonepat—Punjab and Erode—Madras has there been an active demand for more veterinary facilities, indicating that acceptance even in spite of long familiarity has been largely passive in most other areas (between stages 'b' and 'c'). In the Erode area, the cultivators made available buildings for housing the dispensaries and the demand was so keen that instead of three dispensaries originally planned four had to be opened during the first two years of the project.

In regard to inoculation and vaccination against cattle epidemics also, there is ready acceptance whenever these are offered. However, it is notable that in one North Indian project an outbreak of cattle disease was not even reported to project staff indicating that in this case there is not yet any awareness of the advantage of these measures and the prevailing attitude is only one of not resisting a facility, if it is offered.

While the veterinary measures are readily accepted and there is increasing readiness on the part of cultivators to take somewhat greater trouble to avail of them, *e.g.* bringing cattle to dispensaries from longer distances, the experience of a few centres where disease prevention measures requiring some effort on the part of the villagers have been tried is not very happy. Thus in one project where veterinary measures were quite popular, foot-baths kept by the veterinary staff in the villages as a preventive against cattle disease were reported to be not in use. The effort involved in this case was only one of using the facility, and its proper maintenance. But acceptance had not yet advanced to the stage where people would make even this degree of effort.

Animal Husbandry Measures.—The main activities in this field are: natural breeding with improved bulls, artificial insemination and castration. In case of natural breeding, there are no difficulties of acceptance, and most cultivators readily recognise its advantages. Wherever facilities of breeding with improved bulls are made available these are utilized, but frequently such utilization is mechanical as the cultivators frequently resort to breeding with unimproved bulls also (*e.g.* Mohd. Bazar—West Bengal, Bhathat—U.P.). In Kolhapur, the value of superior quality livestock is realised by the cultivators to such an extent that they are willing to pay very high prices for good quality animals and it is reported that this is an important channel in which the increased incomes of the cultivators go. But there is not the same eagerness to make sustained efforts to improve livestock in most other areas. It is only in a few areas notably the Punjab project of Sonepat where there is an established tradition of good husbandry that the value of breeding with improved bulls is widely appreciated.

The case of artificial insemination is on a different footing. It is a new practice which seems to the villagers to depart from the natural law, so that there is considerable initial prejudice against its acceptance. The difficulty of making the facility widely available by operating sub-centres within convenient reach of the villagers is another handicap. In some areas (*e.g.* Bhadrak—Orissa), mistakes by staff in applying the methods in the initial stages due to lack of experience gave a set-back. In another area (Kolhapur), the impression got round that artificial insemination is meant only for sterile cows. These difficulties are being progressively overcome and the practice is gaining wider acceptance in a number of project areas. But a set-back is reported from some areas where the sub-centres have been closed, just as the method had begun to be popular. The best example of progressive acceptance comes from Chalakudy—Kerala where the initial prejudices have been considerably over-come and there is demand for opening of new subcentres and extension of facilities over wider areas.

Poultry Keeping.—A major difficulty in the development of poultry as a subsidiary activity for the cultivators is the prejudice against keeping poultry or use of eggs or chicken. This prejudice is very widespread among the upper castes in all parts of the country. However, there is evidnece from a number of centres that the prejudice is slowly breaking down. Contact with the towns especially of the younger generation is an important factor in the weakening of the prejudice. Poultry keeping as a side activity by the farmers, particularly those near towns, is becoming popular in a large number of centres. The programmes for improvement of poultry have consisted of breeding; inoculation and other disease prevention measures and distribution of eggs, and birds of improved breeds. In Chalakudy—Kerala again, inoculation is so popular that there is considerable demand for an expansion of the facility. As regards the supply of birds of improved breed, there are two main comments:

(i) the birds are often not found resistant enough to the local conditions and (ii) better guidance is needed in feeding and rearing practices.

Health and Sanitation

The observations made above while bringing out the differences in acceptance between veterinary and animal husbandry measures apply, perhaps with greater force, to the differences between acceptance of health measures on the one hand, and on the sanitation measures on the other. Also, this is a field in which the different stages of change, mentioned in the Introduction are very clearly illustrated. Knowledge of efficacy of modern medicine is spreading rapidly in the rural areas and local village methods of treatment are giving way to this phenomenon, an interesting side-light on which is provided by Kolhapur where there is reported to be a craze for injections. Whatever medical facilities have been provided under project or other programmes are being avidly grasped, and there is an increasing demand for more. The primary health centres opened during the project period have been very popular. There is a large programme of opening of rural health

centres in the Second Five Year Plan. In some States, notably West Bengal, the State Governments are thinking in terms of establishing a chain of rural health centres, one for every 10 villages, which will bring medical assistance within effective reach of every village.

Even in case of maternity facilities, although there is greater resistance, there is a notable advance everywhere. An interesting fact has been reported in this connection. In two projects—Pusa—Bihar and Mohd. Bazar—West Bengal it is reported that the higher castes have a disinclination to send their women to the maternity centres as the facilities are free and available to all, but the lower castes having no such consideration are using the facilities more readily. In spite of the ready and growing acceptance of medical facilities, it is noteworthy that the experiment of providing medicine boxes to the *panchayats* which was tried in some areas has not been successful. There are two reasons for it:

(1) the difficulties in running a programme of this nature; and

(2) the fact that the communities even though appreciating modern medicine, cannot bring forth the resources or rather the organisational effort necessary to make this facility available to themselves.

Sanitation.—In this case, progress is much less than in that of use of medical aid. In fact it appears that one of the most difficult areas of attack by extension workers will be this one of sanitation, because besides improvement in habits of personal hygiene which necessarily takes a long period of education, improvements in environmental hygiene often require considerable investment *e.g.*, on drainage. Lack of awareness of the importance of sanitation or its role in preventing disease is perhaps best illustrated in case of the programme of drinking water supply. In all projects, programmes for improvement of water supply have been among the most important. New wells have been constructed, old wells have been renovated and sanitary constructions like parapets have been constructed on wells to avoid contamination. Water being a prime necessity, people's participation has been generally available for these works. Participation of *Harijans* also has been widely and enthusiastically available. Disinfection of wells has also been carried out extensively in the project areas. As a result of these measures, water supply facilities have been considerably improved in most project areas and in some of them *e.g.* Mohd. Bazar, a decline in the incidence of waterborne diseases has been reported. However, consciousness of the need for safe drinking water as distinct from adequate drinking water is yet to come. In Bhathat—U.P., where a large number of wells have been improved, new wells constructed and hand pumps installed, it is reported that there are few wells which remain sanitary. Keeping a well from getting contaminated is a function of usage which in turn depends mainly upon the consciousness about safe drinking water supply which has been created in the community. Obviously such consciousness and the resulting collective effort which may keep wells from being contaminated are yet to come.

In case of latrines, even the first stage, that of acceptance of the merit of the practice, has not been reached in most projects. This is due in part to the faulty designs of the latrines which do not meet all the requirements of the villagers, with the result that in many cases even the latrines which have been constructed at considerable cost are not being used. It is interesting, however, that in some projects (Kolhapur and Sonepat) awareness is coming to the extent that people feel that it is not desirable to allow children to defecate on the streets. This is undoubtedly the first step which has to be followed by numerous others before a change in practice can be accomplished in this sphere.

Difficulties of a somewhat different type are being encountered in connection with the programmes of pavement of lanes and construction of drains. These programmes were taken up in some projects and involved considerable contributions from the people. Their maintenance *i.e.*, keeping them clean and in good repair is in the nature of a municipal function which has to be carried out by the *panchayats*. But even where *panchayats* exist, the lanes and drains are generally not being well-maintained, for a variety of reasons. This is an illustration of the tendency which affects every field of development activity (and has been commented upon in another context in the chapter on Social Education); that it is comparatively easy to obtain participation of people in development activities under a wave of enthusiasm, but to bring together the sustained effort and the organisation required for the continuation of the activity is much more difficult.

Criterion 4: Community Life

Community life in the rural areas has been subject to a succession of important changes in the wake of Independence. Among these, universal suffrage, abolition of *Zamindars* and other privileged groups in some areas and expansion of the village *panchayats* are perhaps the most important. Under the impact of these influences as also of the general process of economic change, the patterns of influence, of leadership, and of social and economic relationships within the community have been undergoing a rapid change.

The coming of the community projects accelerated the process and also introduced significant new elements. In assessing the impact of the programme upon community life, the experience with the works and amenities programmes is of particular interest, because the reactions of the village community to this programme furnish a good illustration of the processes of change. Under this programme, financial and technical assistance became available for improvement of community facilities on a scale hitherto unknown. Most villeges have availed of the assistance for one or more activity and a quantitative idea of the proportions of villages benefiting from different types of activities is obtainable from the data of the coverage study in the following chapter.

Extent of participation.—The first thing which needs emphasis in this connection is the great variation in the character of participation by the communities in this programme. In some areas like

the Chalakudy project in Kerala, where the works were entrusted to contractors and people's participation consisted merely of the difference between the scheduled rates and the payments actually made by the project, there was little opportunity for participation by the communities. The effect was largely similar where the funds of large multi-village *panchayats* or such bodies as Cane Development Unions were utilized for making up people's participation. At the other extreme, in some projects (*e.g.* Batala—Punjab) where contributions of voluntary labour had to be given by every family, there was a vivid sense of participation in programmes of benefit to the whole community. In general, it can be said that the possibilities which the resources available under the community projects offered for the mobilisation of village communities and creating in them a sense of self-help and collective action, were nowhere adequately utilized. In the earlier stages, there was some emphasis on preparing villages to undertake programmes of collective benefit and the Grama Sevaks did some work in community mobilisation. But, as the emphasis on targets and expenditures increased, these community development methods were given less and less emphasis even in those projects where they had been adopted earlier.

To the extent that possibilities of participation were available to the communities, these presented both a challenge and an opportunity to the existing leadership and institutions. In the majority of the social change villages, the traditional leaders were themselves receptive to the new opportunities. They participated in the programme and helped in mobilising the requisite effort. Although there are many instances of indifference, it is noteworthy that there is none of hostility. This is due mainly to the fact that the facilities which were being offered under this programme satisfied the most basic necessities, about the desirability of having which there could be no question or difference of opinion. Emergence of new leadership, especially of young leaders has been noticed in a number of villages. The young men have been particularly active in assuming institutional leadership positions *e.g.*, in *panchayats*. Other examples of new kinds of leaders are encountered in some of the former *Zamindari* villages where persons with education or new ideas have replaced the *Zamindars* and have taken initiative in community development activities. Instances of young or new leadership emerging and existing side by side with the older leadership have also been reported in a few areas.

The works have also provided opportunities for testing the qualities of leaders especially their honesty, their willingness to take initiative and to work for the common good. It is reported by a number of P.E.Os that, as a result of experience in connection with project works, people in many social change villages have a better knowledge of the qualities and limitations of their leaders. The differential progress of development activities in different villages of a project is reported by the Evaluation Officers to depend more upon the character of local leadership than any other single factor. And, with increasing opportunities of undertaking collective works, which the projects afforded, the scarcity of leaders with the requisite qualities of initiative, public spirit and integrity and having the

confidence of the people has been increasingly felt. Here obviously is a field where some positive and helpful action is required on the part of the project authorities.

Instances of deterioration in the existing relations within the community *e.g.* of increasing tension between rival factions have also been reported in a few villages. In most of these cases, the project staff, instead of waiting to bring together the rival groups and then initiating a development activity, have resorted to the quicker (but often harmful) way of taking the assistance of the group or faction which was cooperative, with the result that the rival group has been left feeling even more hostile and dissatisfied than before.

Village institutions especially *panchayats* have also been affected by this programme. As is well-known, most of the project activities are included among the functions of the *panchayats* which, however, are not able to undertake these because of very inadequate resources, organisational deficiencies or such other difficulties as existence of factions. The availability of project funds enabled many *panchayats* to participate in these programmes and to fulfil some of their own obligations. *Panchayats* have rendered considerable assistance in collection of contributions and organising people's participation in many projects. Largely because of this, there is an increasing realisation of the importance of *panchayats* in many areas. It is reported by one P.E.O. that the people now realise the importance of the *panchayats* better and feel that they should be more careful in electing *panchayat* members in future. In another project, where the *panchayats* have been particularly successful in mobilizing labour contributions, it is reported that the *mukhyias* of the *panchayats* are assuming positions of leadership, their advice is sought even in social matters and given greater weight than even that of the traditional caste leaders. Such realization of the value of institutions and institutional leadership is a most hopeful sign. As it grows, it will strike at one of the major factors responsible for inactivity or failure of the *panchayats*, *viz.*, the lack of awareness among the people as also among the *panchayats* themselves of the roles and functions of these institutions. Secondly, the beginning of such feelings indicates that it may progressively become possible to organise community life around such institutions. In a situation where the traditional bonds of social relationship are becoming weaker, the emergence of institutionalised relationship is of crucial importance. To the extent that such relationships grow, the foundations for a democratic social life will be laid in the villages.

Besides offering new opportunities for purposive action, the project have helped to enrich community life by making available such facilities as the radio, the newspaper, the recreation centre, the youth club. These facilities opened up new possibilities of participation in social events which have been availed of in varying degrees in different project areas.

The strengthening of community life should not, however, be over-estimated. The communities have by and large, participated

only when given the opportunities and actively encouraged by the project staff to do so. Participation, moreover, has been dependent on a continuation of efforts by the project staff and is motivated in most cases by the desire to avail of financial assistance offered by the project. There are a few instances of villagers organising themselves for even traditional community activities like festivals more frequently or more enthusiastically, of organising recreational, literacy or development activities on their own initiative, or of doing some collective activity on their own which they had not done before. Even maintenance of most facilities created by the project is found difficult as has been mentioned in a number of chapters in this Report. Whatever advance is visible is dependent upon the external stimuli given by the project staff and project funds, and continuing advance is still dependent upon a continuation of these. It cannot be said that community life has acquired a greater vigour of its own. All that can be said is that the coming of the project programmes has offered it new avenues of expression which have been utilised. But such expression will have to be continually supported for a considerable time before it can reach the self-generating stage.

Youth.—A systematic and comprehensive programme for rural youth has yet to be evolved. The most common activity so far has been organisation of youth clubs which are in reality sports or recreation clubs in most cases. In some villages, members of youth clubs have also taken interest in development activities. These youth clubs are dependent largely upon project grants and with their cessation many of these have already closed. Only in one project (Kolhapur-Bombay), where the efforts of the project staff lead to a revival of the traditional *akhadas* which is an institution of considerable vitality in Maharashtra villages, the efforts have had more lasting results. In general, the youth have not shown any greater propensity for the successful working of collective institutions than their elders.

In a few projects there are instances of youth acquiring experience of leadership positions. Here, two kinds of situations were met. In one village of the Mandya block of Mysore, the elders themselves have encouraged youth to take up leadership positions particularly in the *panchayats* because education and knowledge of procedure, which the selected youngmen had, were considered to be an advantage for such positions. In this case, the association of youngmen with positions of responsibility led to the more successful functioning of the *panchayat* and was also a factor making for progress in the village. The same was the case in another village in the Ashta block in Madhya Pradesh. On the other hand, in another village youth have tried to acquire positions in opposition to the established village leaders. The experience has not been happy, the youngmen have not been successful in their attempt and there is increased tension in the village.

With the progressive spread of eduction, there can be seen emerging in many of the project villages, a new class of educated youth, many of whose members are unemployed, not fully occupied or just not fit for absorption into village life. The young matriculate or middle standard son of the medium cultivator illustrates the situation. The youngmen are prepared to take up any white-collar jobs

in towns. They would prefer not to undertake cultivation, partly because their talents would not be fully utilized in it and partly because there is no real need for more man-power on the family holding. They are also looking increasingly to jobs of Grama Sevaks, village school teachers, *Panchàyat* secretaries, *patwaris*, sanitation staff, etc. In view of the vast expansion of such services in rural areas, the emergence of a class like this is an advantage, but the difficulties that it creates during the transition period should also be fully recognised. The problem will be particularly serious in the case of *Harijan* youth because in their case the kind of absorption which is possible in the families of middle or large cultivators will not be possible, because their families do not have the resources to support them through periods of virtual idleness and there are no such things as supervisory duties on the family holding to keep the semblance of being engaged. This question of what the educated rural youth and particularly those belonging to the handicapped classes will do, will become of increasing importance in the coming years with the spread of education in rural areas.

CRITERION 5: UNDERSTANDING AND COOPERATION BETWEEN THE OFFICIALS AND NON-OFFICIALS.

The advent of the community development and national extension service programme with its accent on the educational approach, stimulating of cooperative effort and building up a healthier and richer community life marked a significant point in the process of change of outlook among the officials towards the people. These attitudes had been changing rapidly in the wake of Independence and with the growth of democracy in the country. But with the coming of the projects, this process was greatly accelerated, as there was a conscious attempt by the project staff to make a marked departure from the existing methods of work and of approach to the people.

The crucial test of improvement of relations between the officials and the people is in the working of *panchayats*, advisory committees, planning committees and other institutions in which the officials and the non-official leadership come together. The working of the advisory committees has been commented upon in the earlier Evaluation Reports and although there is considerable improvement in their functioning in many areas mainly because of better organisational arrangements, it must be admitted that the advisory committee has not fulfilled the role envisaged for it—that of an active body aiding planning for development in its area, whose members help in formulating policy, preparing Public opinion for development programme and assisting in carrying out these programmes in their respective areas. In most areas, the major role of the BACs or the Planning Committees for that matter is of according formal sanction to the proposals put up to them. The difficulties of cooperation between the officials and the non-officials are well known: among the non-officials rivalry, political or personal, and lack of interest in development programmes; among the officials distrust of the non-officials and fear about present inadvisibility of giving greater power to non-officials in development programmes. In a number of cases it is evident, therefore, that the changes in attitudes of the officials towards the people and the *vice versa* although very marked, have

not yet established themselves in institutionalised stable patterns of working relationship or behaviour. This is necessarily a slow process but actually the process of change in this sphere cannot be considered to have established itself.

CRITERION 6: AWARENESS AMONG THE UNDER-PRIVILEGED GROUPS

It has been generally recognised that the project programmes did not provide adequately for improvement of the economic and social conditions of the under-privileged groups. This deficiency is sought to be corrected to a large extent by the increasing emphasis on programmes of cottage industries, by measures specially designed to make facilities of the cooperative movement available to the small cultivators and the artisans and by such programmes as housing for *Harijans.* Changes have, however been taking place in the economic and social conditions of these groups under the impact of the project and other development programmes, some of which are of considerable interest.

Better Employment Opportunities.—There has been some increase in employment arising both from operation of development programmes, project and non-project, and from measures of land improvement notably extension of irrigation facilities and increase in agricultural production which have followed as a result of the development activities. In some areas, notably Manavadar—Bombay it is reported that as a result of greater employment opportunities and increases in production, wage levels have also shown a significant rise. In this increase in employment opportunities the main beneficiaries have been the labouring classes, *Harijans* and others. On the other hand, agrarian legislation is reported to have resulted in ejectment of tenants and resumption of holdings by the owners themselves in one Project—Pusa (Bihar).

Among the project programmes which have been of direct benefit to the under-privileged groups, provision of drinking water wells for *Harijans* is perhaps the most important. The wells have satisfied a genuine felt need and the *Harijans* have shown themselves to be ready to contribute their share in their construction. The experience with production-*cum*-training centres for artisans has not been particularly happy, however. These centres have not succeeded in their primary objective of initiating a process of improvement in techniques in village crafts and industries. In all the social change villages surveyed by the P.E.Os., there are hardly any instances of trainees going back to villages and improving techniques of existing industries. A noteworthy programme in West Bengal has been granting of small loans to help provide equipment and capital to artisans. Assistance to *Harijans* has been an important programme in a few centres *e.g.* Erode (Madras) and Bodhan (Andhra).

The under-privileged groups have also shared in the benefits from the rising standards of welfare services and facilities provided during the project period. As regards use of school facilities by *Harijans* two opposing trends are reported. In most areas, the *Harijans* feel that the young boys are needed for work on or around the house or to supplement the family income and are therefore reluctant to send

them to school. But in a few cases notably Bhadrak (Orissa) and Pusa (Bihar) it has been reported that the *Harijans* are quite anxious to send their children to school because they see in education, an opportunity of change (or escape) from their village life.

Instances of improvement in the social status of *Harijans* have come to notice in a few centres. As a result of universal suffrage and the specific representation given to the *panchayats*, the voice of the *Harijans* is now heard more carefully and with greater consideration. This is the general report. Indications of reduction in the rigours of untouchability are also reported from a few centres *e.g.* Bhathat (U.P.), Pusa (Bihar), Bhadrak (Orissa). In these areas, the social distance between the caste Hindus and the *Harijans* was never as great as elsewhere. In Bhathat for instance the *Harijans* draw water from the same wells as the caste Hindus and there is no prejudice about it. In this connection, a report from Pusa (Bihar) which illustrates how the taboos are being progressively weakened is of interest. On the outskirts of a village near the railway station, a small market has grown up. In the tea shop, *Harijans* and caste Hindus eat together. In cities such distinctions have always tended to break down: it is the extension of the modes of the city into the village which is apparently having the same effect in them.

CHAPTER XVI: RESULTS OF AN ENQUIRY INTO COVERAGE BY PROJECT PROGRAMMES

Object and Method of the Enquiry

In the earlier Evaluation Reports, it had been commented that distribution of project activities had been uneven over different villages in project areas. Also, references to lack of maintenance or non-use of facilities created under project programmes had been made by the Evaluation Officers during the course of their reports from time to time. It was, therefore, felt that an enquiry directed towards determining the extent to which different project programmes had been spread over different villages, and to what exten' the facilities created, the institutions started and the improvements propagated were being continued in the villages, would be useful. The present survey was accordingly conducted in 17 Evaluation Centres (*vide* Appendix I) between June and August, 1956. 12 of these centres were three-block community projects and five, one-block areas. The project or block programmes had been in operation in these areas for 3 to 4 years and in case of the community projects were in their concluding stages. In one case, Bhadrak-Orissa, although the project consisted of three blocks, only one of these—Block II—was selected for the enquiry.

The method of the enquiry consisted of physical observation of the programmes and discussions with the villagers, by the Project Evaluation Officer, in a sufficiently large number of villages in the project/block area. The sample design envisaged selection of 15% to 20% of the total villages. The number of villages selected for the enquiry varied in the different centres from 17 in Mandya block—Mysore to 71 in Batala project in Punjab. The total number of villages covered in the enquiry was 702, which is about 16 per cent of the total number of villages in these Evaluation Centres.

For the purpose of selection of sample, the villages of a block/project were divided into three strata:

Stratum 'A'—Grama Sevak headquarters *i.e.*, villages which have remained the headquarters of a Grama Sevak for at least one year;

Stratum 'B'—Non-Grama Sevak headquarter villages, but which were easily accessible;

Stratum 'C'—Non-Grama Sevak headquatrer villages which were poorly accessible.

A village which required walking for more than one mile or cycling for more than four miles was considered as poorly accessible.

From the first stratum, 20% of the villages and from the second and third strata 15% of the villages were selected with the restriction that at least two villages from each stratum in each block should be selected.

The Schedule

The schedule collected information on different types of project activities—constructional, irrigational, agricultural, institutional etc. In the agricultural activities, a further distinction between agricultural improvement practices like use of improved seed or of manures and fertilizers, and land improvement practices like land reclamation, soil conservation etc., was necessary. In case of the first two types of activities, constructional and irrigational, data was also obtained on the extent to which a unit constructed was not in use on the date of the enquiry or was being poorly maintained, along with reasons for the same. Similarly, in case of institutions, data was obtained on the extent to which these were active or inactive. Suitable criteria defining poor maintenance, non-use and non-functioning were given to the PEOs. to aid them in such classification. Information on programmes meant especially for the under-privileged groups and the unfulfilled felt-needs was also obtained for each village. The Evaluation Officer spent on an average one day in each village, in course of which he made a physical check of the works done, obtained information from the people on costs, manner of construction, use and maintenance of the facilities, periodicity of meetings in the case of institutions, and other relevant details by the consensus method. Before proceeding to a village, he would have consulted the relevant project records on programmes in the village.

The limitations of an enquiry of this nature should be recognised. It is intended primarily to determine the distribution of project activities over different villages. It does not bring out the proportions of families benefited, because even if one or two families in a village have benefited from a particular programme, that village would be shown to have been covered. The latter information on individual families benefited has already been collected by the P.E.O. in the course of the Bench-Mark Survey.

Coverage

The schedule obtained information for 41 items of project activity. These are listed in Appendix II. Of the total number of villages covered by the enquiry, 63% reported having been covered by 5 to 14 items of project activity; 25% had between 15 to 24 items and 11% had less than 5 items. Four centres—Kolhapur (Bombay), Batala (Punjab), Rajpur (Madhya Pradesh) and Pusa (Bihar) reported relatively larger numbers of items per project village. In Kolhapur, for instance, 63% of the villages had taken up between 15 to 24 items and the remaining 37% between 5 to 14 items. At the other extreme in Ashta (Madhya Pradesh) which was an NES block, 77% of the villages reported less than 5 items.

The number of items undertaken does not by itself give an adequate idea of the relative intensity of the programmes, because different items vary greatly in expenditures and impact on the life of the people. But it is useful as a first indicator. The differences in the three strata of villages are quite marked in this respect. The Grama Sevak headquarter village (stratum 'A') are on the whole more intensively covered than the rest, and among the other strata also the easily accessible villages have a distinctly larger number of items than the poorly accessible ones. This is clearly brought out by the following average figures for the 17 centres showing the percentage of villages of each stratum in the three 'number of items' groups:—

No of items group

Stratum	Below 5	5—14	15—24
A'	1·4	41·7	54·2
'B'	12·4	68·4	18·7
'C'	17·0	69·1	13·4

Thus, whereas in the first stratum, more than half the villages have between 15-24 items and very few villages less than 5 items, in the third stratum more than two-thirds of the villages are in the 5-14 items group.

Fields of Activity

(Table 1)

Construction activities have been undertaken in all centres and 79% of the villages in the sample reported having been covered by one construction activity or the other. But for irrigation programme which were in operation in 16 out of the 17 centres, the percentage of villages benefited is only 39, indicating that more than 3/5 of the villages have not obtained any benefits from project activities in this field. Considering irrigation and construction programmes together, 84 per cent. of the villages have been benefited.

On the other hand, programmes of land reclamation, soil conservation and consolidation of holdings have been undertaken in a limited number of centres. Land reclamation has been undertaken in only 8 centres, and the proportion of villages reporting this programme is large (60 to 80%) in only four centres—Kolhapur and Morsi (Bombay) and Bhadson and Batala (Punjab).

In the Punjab centres of Bhadson and Batala, land reclamation is linked with consolidation of holdings which is in an advanced stage of completion in these centres. On the other hand, it is noteworthy that in the two centres—Mohd. Bazar (West Bengal) and Erode (Madras)—which have been benefited by large-scale irrigation works, only 40% and 24% respectively of the villages have reported land reclamation programmes.

Consolidation of holdings is important in the Punjab centres and is well advanced in all the three centres of the State, as is indicated by the fact that 80% or more of the villages (97% in Batala) report this activity. Consolidation has also been started on a small-scale in three centres—Kolhapur (Bombay), Erode (Madras) and Ashta (Madhya Pradesh).

Agricultural improvement activities should be expected to be the most widespread from the point of view of the villages covered. In 11 out of the 17 centres, all the villages reported having been covered by one agricultural improvement activity or the other. In all the other centres excepting Ashta where the figure was 51%, the figures were above 90%; the overall average for the 17 centres being 95%.

Cooperatives exist in nearly 55% of the villages covered by this study. In this case, however, there is a very wide range from Bhathat (U.P.) with 97% and Kolhapur (Bombay) and Kakinada (Andhra) with 95% of the villages covered to Mandya (Mysore) and Ashta (Madhya Pradesh) where the figures are only 12%. There is a significant variation also in the extent of coverage of villages of the three strata. 81% of the Grama Sevak headquarter villages of this sample are covered by cooperative societies; but the figures for the other two strata are 49% and 46% only. These figures give an idea of the extent to which cooperative societies tend to concentrate in the larger, more accessible, more important villages which the Grama Sevak headquarter villages generally are.

That the cottage industries programme has received inadequate attention, is borne out by the fact, that three out of the 17 centres did not report any activity at all under this programme, and only 18% of the villages in the total sample have reported receiving some benefit or the other under the programme. Thus, more than 4/5th of the total villages remained completely untouched. The most important activities in this field were running of production-*cum*-training centres and financial assistance to artisans in the shape of loans or grants. Grants of loans to artisans was relatively the most widespread activity; the percentage of villages covered being 15·2 in the whole sample. The percentages were comparatively high in three centres—Manavadar—Bombay (66.7%), Kakinada-Andhra (54.1%) and Kolhapur-Bombay (48.8%). On the other hand, in such centres as Nizamsagar-Andhra (3.8%), Cachar-Assam (3.2%) and Ashta-Madhya Pradesh (2.6%), the coverage was extremely small. The

disparity between tne different strata of villages which is a feature of most project activities was noticeable in this case also. The coverage for the villages of stratum 'A' (Grama Sevak headquarters) was more than twice as high as that for villages of stratum 'B' and 'C' the figures being 29·2,%, 11:5%, and 11:9% respectively. Grants to artisans were given in only four centres and the percentage of villages covered was very small, the maximum being 10% in Rajpur-Madhya Pradesh.

Expenditure

Construction

Figures on the project expenditure in diffrent fields of activity are of considerable interest. Two fields—construction and irrigation—have been selected for comment as these two generally account for the largest proportions of project expenditure. Expenditure on constructional items, averaged Rs. 2,867 per village in these 17 centres. But as only 79% of the villages reported the construction programmes, the average per reporting village was Rs. 4,620. Variation between different centres in this respect is very wide, ranging all the way from Rs. 10,200 per village and Rs. 10,900 per reporting village in Manavadar-Bombay, to only Rs. 600 per village and Rs. 1,050 per reporting village in Bhathat-U.P. In view, however, of the differences in the population of the villages in different centres, figures on expenditure per thousand of population are more useful for purposes of comparison. The average for the 17 centres comes to Rs. 3,360 or Rs. 3.36 per capita. The range of variation in this case is from Rs. 10,957 in Manavadar-Bombay and Rs. 10,905 in Rajpur-Madhya Pradesh to Rs. 760 in Bhathat-U.P. and Rs. 529 in Kakinada-Andhra.

There are very marked differences also in the villages of the three strata. In the villages of stratum 'A', the overall average figure for the 17 centres is Rs. 7,627; but for those of strata 'B' and 'C' the figures are only Rs. 2,171 and Rs. 1,506 respectively. However, these figures given a somewhat exaggerated idea of the disparity between the villages of the three strata, because the 'A' villages generally are larger than the 'B' and 'C' stratum villages. But even the figures of expenditure per thousand persons are Rs. 4,000 for stratum 'A', Rs. 3,200 for the stratum 'B' and Rs. 2,547 for the stratum 'C' villages. This shows that the expenditure on construction items has been much greater in the Grama Sevak headquarter villages (A), less in the non-headquarter but accessible villages (B) and still less in the poorly accessible villages of the third stratum (C). This general trend is found in most centres although, in some cases, the expenditure per thousand persons is higher in the 'B' villages than in the 'A'.

A certain degree of disparity between the villages of the three strata can be understood because items like *pucca* roads occur mostly in easily accessible villages. Also such items as school buildings, dispensaries, maternity centres, tend to be concentrated in the larger, more accessible villages. But attention needs to be drawn to the very

wide disparities between the villages of the three strata, which is noticeable in the centres of Assam, Punjab and U.P.

Expenditure per 1000 population in rupees.

Centre.	Stratum A	Stratum B	Stratum C
Cachar-Assam . . .	4,797	2,525	83
Sonepat-Punjab . . .	7,128	6,047	4
Batala-Punjab. . . .	7,657	2,543	199
Bhathat-U.P. . . .	1,114	748	225

Irrigation

The figures in this enquiry refer only to expenditure out of project funds on works which had been completed by the time of the enquiry. In several projects, considerable expenditure had been incurred on account of large irrigation works *e.g.*, the Lower Bhavani Canal in case of Erode-Madras; the Mayurakshi project in case of Mohd. Bazar-West Bengal, State tube-wells in Bhathat-U.P. and Sonipat-Punjab. But expenditure on these is not included in these figures.

Irrigation activities were undertaken in 16 out of the 17 centres, the exception being Cachar-Assam. The overall average of expenditure per village comes to Rs. 2,621. But as only 39% of the villages are benefited by irrigation activities, the expenditure per reporting village is much higher, being a little over Rs. 7,600. The figure of avarage expenditure per 1000 population comes to Rs. 3,072 *i.e.*, nearly Rs. 3·1 per capita. This is slightly lower than the per capita expenditure on construction activities. Disparities in expenditure of different centres are even more marked in this case than in the case of constructions; the range being from Rs. 17,608 in Rajpur-Madhya Pradesh, to Rs. 91 in Nizamsagar-Andhra. It has been noticed also that very low figures of project expenditure under irrigation have generally been recorded by centres like Nizamsagar, Mohd. Bazar, Sonepat, Erode where large-scale irrigation works had been undertaken. Also, in these centres, project assistance has been available to only a small number of villages. On the other hand, in both Rajpur-Madhya Pradesh and Manavadar-Bombay where no large irrigation works had been undertaken and where figures of project expenditure under irrigation are very high, almost every village has been benefited.

The disparity between villages of strata 'A', 'B' and 'C' is noticed in this case also, and is even greater than in case of construction activities. The figures of expenditure per 1,000 persons for the three categories are Rs. 3,925, Rs. 2,941 and Rs. 1,800. In fact all the three indicators of activity—proportion of villages benefited, expenditure per village benefited and expenditure per capita show a progressive

decline markedly as one moves from stratum 'A' to 'B' and from 'B' to 'C'.

	A	B	C
% of villages reporting . . .	54·9	33·8	36·1
Expenditure per reporting village	14267	6282	3660
Expenditure per capita . . .	3·9	2·9	1·8

It has been mentioned above that higher construction expenditure in 'A' and 'B' stratum villages can be understood, and to some extent even justified. But there are no such considerations in this case, and the figures only prove that sufficient attention has not been given in extending irrigation activities to the less accessible 'C' stratum villages, and the possibilities of development of irrigation in these villages need to be more adequately utilized in future.

Individual Activities

(Tables 1, 2 and 3)

Kutcha Roads: Costruction of *Kutcha* roads has been undertaken in all but two of these areas; the exceptions being Ashta-Madhya Pradesh, which was an NES block and Mohd. Bazar-West Bengal. The overall average of length of road constructed comes to 4.12 furlongs per thousand persons. The range of variation is all the way from 23·5 furlongs in Batala-Punjab to 0:03 furlongs in Kakinada-Andhra. In four centres, Kakinada and Nizamsagar in Andhra, Morsi-Bombay and Bhadson-Punjab, the figure is less than one furlong per thousand persons. On the overall average of the 17 centres, 37% of the villages have been benefited by this activity. The figures of coverage of the villages of strata 'A', 'B' and 'C' are 42, 40 and 28 per cent. respectively. In areas like Batala and Kolhapur where the activity was taken up on an extensive scale, almost 90 per cent of the villages have been benefited. On the other hand, in centres like Morsi and Bhadson less than 5% of the villages have been benefited.

Data on the extent of non-use and poor maintenance of roads indicate that 7.4% of these were not in use and 10.1 per cent. were being poorly maintained at the time of the enquiry, bringing the total under non-use and poor maintenance to nearly 18 per cent. The difficulties of estimating the extent of usability or good condition of a road by a non-technical person are indeed great and no more authority is claimed for these figures than can be given to an on-the-spot check by a lay-man observer. The usability figures are limited also by the consideration that in many cases whatever be the condition of a road, the villagers have to use it because there is no alternative. Some check on these figures can be had from the proportions of villages reporting non-use or poor maintenance. 6·6% of all the villages in the sample reported that some units were in non-use (92.7% reported all units in use); and 14.3% of the villages covered by this activity reported poor maintenance of the roads constructed.

The percentages of villages reporting poor maintenance are very low in projects like Kakinada, Nizamsagar and Morsi where very little work was done. The low percentage in a project like Erode where sufficient amount of work was done (more than two furlongs of road per thousand persons) indicates the good quality of the work done. On the other hand, in Manavadar—Bombay, 60 per cent. of the villages reported poor maintenance of the roads. This is an exceptionally high figure; the next figure—that of Batala—Punjab—is only 20%.

Pucca Roads: Construction of *pucca* roads in the sample villages has been reported from only 11 out of 17 centres. Also, because of the very nature of the activity, the proportion of villages benefited is very small; the overall average for the 17 centres being only 9·4%. In other words, *pucca* road facilities have been extended to about 10 per cent. of the villages during the project or block period. The differences between 'A', 'B', and 'C' villages are bound to be large and the figures are 17·4, 8·5 and 3·6 per cent. respectively. In a work of this nature, if the work is at all well done, there should be no question of non-use or poor maintenance within the first two or three years, and all the centres except Manavadar and Morsi report that all the roads constructed are in good condition and in use. In Manavadar all the roads are considered by the Evaluation Officer to be in poor condition. In Morsi, 3/5 of the length of road constructed is not in use because it is not well metalled.

Drinking Water Wells

Construction or improvement of drinking water wells has been undertaken in all centres and the proportion of villages benefited comes to 44% of the total. The activity has been most extensively undertaken in Pusa—Bihar where all the sample villages report this programme and in Manavadar—Bombay where the figure is 81 per cent. At the other extreme are Cachar—Assam and Kakinada—Andhra with about 13 per cent. of the villages benefited. Differences in coverage between the villages of the three strata are shown by the figures, 62·5% for 'A', 42·6% for 'B' and 34·5% for 'C' villages, which indicate that nearly twice as many Grama Sevak headquarter villages ('A') have benefited from this programme as the non-headquarter poorly accessible ('C') villages. This difference in coverage of villages of the three strata is found in all centres. In three projects—Kakinada—Andhra, Mandya—Mysore and Bhadson—Punjab, no village in stratum 'C' has benefited from this activity.

The average level of activity is 1·24 wells per thousand population, with variations from 9·0 wells in Pusa to almost 0 in Kakinada. As regards non-use, in most of the centres all the wells constructed are in use. Only in a few centres, notably Bhadrak—Orissa (15·6%) and Mohd. Bazar—West Bengal (10·3%) wells in appreciable numbers are not in use. The figures of wells which are poorly maintained are somewhat higher than those of non-use. But even in this case, in 10 centres out of 17, no wells are reported to be in poor condition. In a few centres, the figures of poor maintenance are rather high; Mandya—Mysore (66%) and Mohd. Bazar—West Bengal (25%). On the overall avearge, 2·3 per cent. of the wells are reported to be poorly maintained.

School and School buildings

Both these activities are reported to have been undertaken in all areas and the average level of performance is 0.25 new primary schools started and 0·29 school buildings constructed, per thousand persons. Centre-wise variations are quite large, ranging from 0·03 new schools in Bhathat—U.P. to 1.2 in Ashta—Madhya Pradesh and from 0·2 school buildings in Bhathat to 1·4 in Cachar—Assam. The figures for both activities are affected quite considerably by the extent to which facilities were available in the area before the project period. Thus, a relatively less advanced area like Ashta—Madhya Pradesh, which was not well served with school facilities before and which started a large number of schools in the project period can show much greater performance than an advance area like Kolhapur—Bombay which already had all or most of the primary schools it needed. Information on construction of school buildings indicates that such buildings have been constructed in 28% of the villages in the total sample. The highest percentage here again is in Cachar—Assam, where 2/3rd of the villages have been provided with school buildings. At the other extreme are centres like Batala—Punjab, Bhathat—U.P., Mohd. Bazar—West Bengal and Ashta—Madhya Pradesh where less than 10% of the villages have got school buildings. It is significant that Ashta which has undertaken a large programme of opening of new schools, has yet to make a beginning with construction of new school buildings. As regards use and maintenance of these buildings, 97% of the villages report all units in use. In most centres (12 out of the 17) all the buildings constructed are in use. The proportion of buildings not in use is high in only a few centres, Nizamsagar—Andhra, Mandya—Mysore and Manavadar—Bombay. But in these cases the number of buildings constructed is itself very small. Figures on poor maintenance are also similarly very small. Only 4% of the villages report poor maintenance of the buildings and the units reported to be poorly maintained in this way are only about 6% of the total, indicating again that the great majority of the buildings constructed were in good condition till the time of the survey.

Irrigation

It has been mentioned above that the enquiry related only to project works—wells, tube-wells, tanks, pumping sets etc., and that the irrigation activities were not undertaken in Cachar—Assam. In another centre, Bhadrak—Orissa, no irrigation benefits had been obtained till the time of the survey as the tube-wells constructed were not yet being utilized for irrigation. The area benefited from all irrigation sources comes to an average of 8·84 acres per village for all the 17 centres. The effect of disparity in irrigation expenditure in villages of the three strata is reflected in corresponding disparity in irrigation benefits, the respective figures for the three strata being 21·08, 8·1 and 3·5 acres per village. Thus, the Grama Sevak headquarter villages have on the average received 6 times as much irrigation benefit as villages of the third stratum.

Construction or improvement of wells (excluding installation of pumping sets) has been the most important activity in this field. It was undertaken in 10 out of the 17 centres and has contributed

more than 60% of the total irrigated area. The maximum activity has been reported in four centres—Manavadar, Bhadson, Rajpur and Bhathat. In these centres more than half of the villages have been provided with wells. In Rajpur, 93 per cent. of the villages have been provided with wells and the figure is as high as 81 per cent. in Manavadar. The number of wells per reporting village averages 6·4 for the whole sample. But in Manavadar and Rajpur where the activity has been undertaken on an extensive scale, the figures are 11 and 10 wells per reporting village respectively.

Disparity between the villages of the three strata is noticeable in this case also and it is seen that not only is a larger proportion of villages in stratum 'A' provided with wells, but the average number of wells is also larger in this stratum so that the area benefited per village is markedly greater in this stratum than in the other two:

Average of 17 Centres	Stratum 'A'	Stratum 'B'	Stratum 'C'
Percentage of village covered	43·8	25·3	26·8
Number of wells	7·6	6·6	5·0
Area benefited	9·9	5·2	2·7

As regards use of the wells constructed, 73 per cent. of all the villages reported all units in use, in 21·7 per cent. of villages some units were in use and some in non-use, while in 4·8 per cent. of them all units were reported to be in non-use. The overall percentage of units (wells) not in use to the total constructed or improved comes to 9·3. Among those centres where activity was undertaken on a considerable scale, the percentages were rather high in three—Morsi—Bombay (24%), Bhathat—U.P. (22%) and Rajpur—Madhya Pradesh (11·3%). In Manavadar—Bombay where also the activity was undertaken extensively, only 14% of the wells were not in use.

Tube-wells

Tube-wells have been constructed in six projects. But only in three of these—Bhadson and Sonepat of Punjab and Bhathat—U.P. had irrigation benefits begun to be available by the time of the survey. In three centres—Pusa—Bihar, Bhadrak—Orissa, and Batala—Punjab, the tube-wells were not in operation at the time of the survey. In the three centres where benefits had begun to be available, all the tube-wells were in use. In view of the concentration of the programme in a few centres, the overall addition to area benefited is rather small but in the centres where benefits had been available, the percentage is appreciable. In Bhathat for instance tube-wells have contributed 14 per cent. of the irrigated area.

Tanks

Construction or renovation of tanks has been undertaken in only 5 centres and in each case, the activity is of rather small magnitude. The maximum can be considered to be in Manavadar—Bombay and

Ashta—Madhya Pradesh, where the area benefited from tanks is 1·5 and 1·25 acres per village respectively. All the tanks constructed or improved were reported to be in use at the time of the enquiry.

Pumping Sets

Installation of pumping sets on wells was taken up in a large number of centres and all the pumping sets installed were in use in most centres. But in one case Batala—Punjab where the programme was undertaken most extensively, 25% of the pumping sets installed were either wholly or partly not in use.

AGRICULTURAL IMPROVEMENT PRACTICES

Detailed information was collected in respect of three items; use of improved seed, use of manures and fertilizers and improved methods of cultivation. But in respect of these, the information was obtained on adoption of the practices singly as well as in combination. As may be expected, use of improved seed is the most widespread practice and nearly 89% of the villages reported this. In 6 centres out of 17, all the project villages reported use of improved seed of some crop or the other. In a number of other centres also, the percentage of reporting villages was above 90. Use of manures and fertilizers (which in the majority of cases means use of farm yard manure) has been reported from 88% of the villages. Spread of improved methods of cultivation like line sowing of cotton and the Japanese method of paddy cultivation is very much less than the other two practices; the figure for all the centres being 60%. In the cotton growing areas like Bhadson—Punjab and Morsi—Bombay where line sowing of cotton is the main practice, this is reported to have been adopted by some cultivator or the other in all the villages.

The figures of combinations of improved practices are also of interest. Use of both improved seed and manures is reported from 82% of the villages and of all three: improved seed, manures and improved methods of cultivation from 57% of the project villages. In the latter respect, Bhadson and Pusa are the most advanced because in these centres adoption of all the three practices is reported from all or nearly all the villages. At the other extreme, Ashta—Madhya Pradesh appears to be the least advanced in use of improved practices. In this centre, only 5% of the villages reported use of both improved seed and fertilizers and no village reported use of all the three practices. The next Bhadrak—Orissa, however, has got as many as 56% of the villages reporting both improved seed and manures but only 9% using all the three practices.

In every case whether it is use of improved seed or manures or a combination of these, the stratum 'A' (Grama Sevak headquarter) villages are most advanced and the stratum 'C' (non-headquarter non-accessible) villages least advanced. However, in case of improved seed and fertilizers since the overall figures are very high the differences between the three strata are not very marked.

Use of improved seed and fertilizers are established programmes of agricultural improvement which were being adopted by the cultivators even before the projects came. Figures on changes in these practices since the coming of projects are, therefore, of even greater interest than those of percentages of villages covered. In case of improved seed, it was noticed that nearly 83% of the total villages had recorded a positive change (some increase however small) since the coming of the project or block. The figures of negative change were so small as to be negligible in most centres except in Morsi—Bombay, where because of indifferent results with one of the two recommended varieties of cotton, a significant number of villages showed negative change. No change was reported from 38% of the total villages in the 17 centres.

As regards manures and fertilizers, nearly 90% of the total villages and in about half the centres all the villages reported positive change. Negative change was reported in a significant way from only two centres—Kakinada and Nizamsagar, both in Andhra. But the figures of no change were very high, the overall average being nearly 30%; and the figures for Kakinada being as high as 96% and for Nizamsagar and Morsi 75 and 71 per cent. respectively.

In case of improved methods of cultivation, more than 98% of the villages showed positive change and in 13 centres out of the 17, all the villages were in this category. Negative change was reported here again in a significant way only from Morsi where 35% of the villages were in this category. No change was reported from 13 per cent. of the total villages in the sample.

Cooperative Societies

Cooperative credit societies existed in all the 17 centres but non-credit societies were not noticed in one centre—Mohd. Bazar—West Bengal. The maximum percentage of villages covered by credit cooperatives was in Bhathat—U.P. (97 per cent.), followed closely by Kolhapur—Bombay (93 per cent.), At the other extreme were Bhadrak, with 9·3 per cent. and Mandya—Mysore 11·8 per cent. of the villages having cooperative societies. Taking all the 17 centres together, 50·6 per cent. of the villages were covered by credit co-operatives, but only 12·8 by non-credit cooperatives. The percentage of villages covered by non-credit cooperatives was appreciable in only a few centres—Kolhapur (44 per cent.), Kakinda (38 per cent.) and Sonepat (24 per cent.)

There is considerable disparity as between the villages of the three strata. In stratum 'A', 69 per cent. of the villages were covered by credit cooperatives, but for the other two strata the proportion was only 45 per cent. In one centre, Mandya—Mysore credit co-operatives were found only at Grama Sevak headquarter villages and not in others, but the reverse was true in two centres—Bhadrak and Mohd. Bazar. Development of non-credit cooperatives showed an even greater disparity between the villages of the three strata. Whereas nearly 1/3rd of the Grama Sevak headquarter villages reported some non-credit cooperatives, the proportion in the other two categories was only 9 and 5 per cent. respectively.

As regards the number of cooperatives per thousand of population, the overall average was 0·61 for the credit and 0·13 for non-credit societies. The maximum, 2·0 credit cooperatives, was noted from Bhathat—U.P.; while the highest figures for non-credit cooperatives were from Sonepat—Punjab 0·28 societies and Kolhapur—Bombay 0·25 societies per thousand persons. About 15 per cent. of the villages reported inactive credit cooperative societies, and the proportion of units reported to be inactive was 13 per cent. The corresponding figures for non-credit societies were 31 and 30. Thus a much larger proportion of non-credit societies than credit societies were reported to be inactive. The proportion of inactive societies was rather high in those centres where cooperative activity itself is more advanced, *e.g.*, Kolhapur, Nizamsagar, Kakinada, Pusa, etc. But this is not true in Cachar—Assam where there are only a few cooperative societies, and all were reported to be inactive. Kolhapur which is well advanced in non-credit cooperation reported a low percentage (only 9 per cent.) of inactive cooperatives. The average membership of an actively working credit cooperative society was reported to be 82·8 for all the centres. The range of variation in this case was again very large, from 14 members in Bhadrak and 24 in Sonepat to 367 in Mysore. Mysore thus had only a few large societies. In Kolhapur on the other hand, where most of the villages have cooperatives and the number of societies per thousand of population is also considerable, each society had got as many as 125 members. The average number of members of non-credit societies came to 113 in all these centres. But this high average is due primarily to the inclusion of Kakinada where the average membership was 325. In the other centres the number of members per society was considerably lower.

Other Institutional Activities

Youth Clubs, Women's Organisations and Community Recreation Centres.—All these were new activities in most projects and formed part of the social education programme. Youth clubs were reported to have been formed in all projects, although in some cases, *e.g.* Bhathat and Ashta the coverage was extremely small. Considering the whole sample, 25 per cent. of the villages reported existence of youth clubs. The percentages were the highest in Sonepat (57) and Kolhapur (56). At the other extreme were Bhathat, Ashta and Cachar, with 3·2, 2·6 and 9·5 respectively of the villages covered. There was also noticeable disparity between the three strata of villages. While the overall figure for the 'A' villages was as high as 45 per cent., that for the 'C' villages was only 15 per cent.

In 28 per cent. of the villages, the youth clubs were reported to be inactive at the time of the survey and the percentage of the inactive units to the total was also the same. In Kakinada, all the units were inactive; in Sonepat about half (57 per cent.) of the units were reported to be inactive. From among the centres which have undertaken an extensive programme, Kolhapur with 2 per cent. of the units inactive and Erode with 4 per cent. inactive can be considered to have been the more successful ones. In Mohd. Bazar, 20 per cent. of the villages were reported to be covered with youth clubs and all of them were reported to be active.

Women's organisations had been established in only 12 out of the 17 centres, and in most of the centres, the number of villages covered was extremely small. The overall average of the villages covered was only 8 per cent., and only in three cases—Kolhapur, Manavadar and Rajpur, 20 per cent. or more villages were covered by this activity. Even though the activity was still in its initial stages or perhaps because of it, the percentage of inactive units was rather high—33 per cent. in as many as 5 centres, more than half the units were reported to be inactive. Considered from the limited point of view of the number and functioning of clubs alone the programme can be considered to have been most successful in Manavadar. Here nearly 1/4th of the villages were covered and the proportion of inactive clubs was only 3 per cent.

Community recreation centres had been established in 11 centres and on the overall average, 18 per cent. of the villages were covered. The maximum number of villages covered was in Pusa, Erode, Sonepat and Mohd. Bazar; the figures in all these centres ranged between 40 and 50 per cent. As in other items so in this, the maximum concentration was in Grama Sevak headquarter villages. Nearly 39 per cent. of such villages were covered by this activity. On the other hand, the figures for the villages of strata 'B' and 'C' were only 14 and 9 per cent. In a number of centres the activity was not undertaken at all in the villages of stratum 'C'. The proportion of inactive institutions was reported to be lower (14 per cent.) in this case than in the case of youth clubs and women's organisations. In 6 centers all the institutions were reported to be working. But in a few notably, Mohd. Bazar, Rajpur and Ashta, an appreciable number of these centres was reported to be inactive.

SUMMARY TABLES
AND
APPENDICES

TABLE

Percentage of Villages

State—Project	Construction activities				Irrigation works		Land Recla-ma-tion	Soil Con-ser-vation	Con-solida-tion of hold-ing
	Kutcha Road	*Pucca* Road	School Build-ing	Drin-king water well	Well	Tube-well			
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
1. Andhra-Kakinada	8·1	13·5	51·4	13·5	..	..	..	..	..
2. Andhra-Nizamsagar	18·9	..	18·9	20·8	..	..	..	..	..
3. Assam-Cachar	36·5	6·4	66·7	..	..	..	..	..	..
4. Bihar-Pusa	68·1	..	31·9	100·0	23·4	12·8	..	..	..
5. Bombay-Kolhapur	90·2	4·9	19·5	31·7	39·0	..	80·5	73·2	7·3
6. Bombay-Manavadar	23·8	9·5	28·6	81·0	81·0	..	..	19·1	..
7. Bombay—Morsi	3·5	15·8	45·6	54·4	66·7	..	73·7	..	..
8. Madras-Erode	34·5	34·5	24·1	48·3	..	..	24·1	..	6·9
9. Madhya Pradesh—Ashta	..	..	2·6	23·1	..	..	..	..	5·1
10. Madhya Pradesh-Rajpur	20·0	26·7	33·3	66·7	93·3	..	5·0	81·7	..
11. Mysore-Mandya	35·3	23·5	17·7	17·7	23·5	..	..	..	..
12. Orissa-Bhadrak	55·8	..	30·2	23·3	..	2·3	2·3	..	..
13. Punjab-Batala	87·3	5·6	9·9	62·0	25·4	1·4	62·0	..	97·2
14. Punjab-Bhadson	3·9	..	15·4	23·1	65·4	7·7	84·6	..	80·8
15. Punjab-Sonepat	21·4	21·4	21·4	52·4	31·0	2·4	..	..	78·6
16. U.P.—Bhathat	74·2	..	6·5	58·1	54·8	12·9	..	..	..
17. W. Bengal-Md. Bazar	..	4·0	8·0	56·0	..	..	40·0	..	..
All	36·9	9·4	27·6	44·4	29·5	2·1	23·1	11·8	18·5

1

Covered by Different Activities

Agricultural Improved Practices			Cooperatives		Institutions					Cottage Industry (credits, grants)
Improv-ed seed	Manure/ Ferti-lizer	Improv-ed method of cultiva-tion	Credit	Non-Credit	Youth Club	Women's Organisa-tion	Comm-unity. Cen-tre	Adult Liter-acy Centre	Primar School started I improved	
11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21
100·0	100·0	83·8	89·2	37·8	24·3	16·2	..	43·2	78·4	54·1
96·2	96·2	86 8	77·4	5·7	15·1	..	..	22·6	60·4	3·8
73·0	85·7	25·4	14·3	6·4	9·5	3·2	14·3	7·9	66·7	9·5
100·0	100·0	97·9	83·0	14·9	46·8	4·3	48·9	80·9	31·9	4·3
80·5	90·2	97·6	92·7	43·9	56·1	31·7	..	58·5	12·2	56·1
95·2	90·5	61·9	38·1	23·8	33·3	23·8	..	93·2	39·0	66·7
100·0	91·2	100·0	61·4	7·0	10·5	5·3	..	21·1	24·6	10·5
96·6	82·8	69·0	41·4	17·2	31·0	10·3	48·3	27·6	41·4	17·2
12·8	25·6	..	15·4	2·6	2·6	2·6	23·1	..	41·0	2·6
88·3	76·7	5·0	16·7	11·7	38·3	20·0	26·7	58·3	61·7	58·3
94·1	100·0	82·4	11·8	5·9	29·4	..	..	41·2	5·9	29·4
90·7	76·6	9·3	9·3	4·7	16·3	..	14·0	65·1	53·5	9·3
100·0	94·4	73·2	67·6	7·0	22·5	5·6	12·7	29·6	39·4	9·9
100·0	100·0	100·0	50·0	3·9	23·1	7·7	3·9	..	53·9	..
100·0	97·6	69·1	47·6	23·8	57·1	..	45·2	26·1	26·2	..
100·0	100·0	71·0	96·8	9·7	3·2	12.9	32·3	74·2	9·7	..
92·0	100·0	8·0	28·0	..	20·0	..	40·1	44·0	32·0	20·0
89·1	87·9	60·0	50·6	12·8	25·4	8·1	18·0	38·6	42·5	17·5

TABLE

Level of

State-Project	Area benefited from irrigation per village (acres)	Per 1000 popu-		
		Irri-gation wells (No.)	Construction	
			Kutcha Road (furlongs)	*Pucca* Road (furlongs
1	2	3	4	5
1. Andhra-Kakinada	4·60	..	0·03	0·21
2. Andhra-Nizamsagar	0·08	..	0·56	..
3. Assam-Cachar	..	..	6·10	0·25
4. Bihar-Pusa	2·90	0·40	10·49	..
5. Bombay-Kolhapur	6·26	0·29	6·31	0·03
6. Bombay-Manavadar	32·80	10·28	4·01	1·41
7. Bombay-Morsi	4·62	2·26	0·12	0·86
8. Madras-Erode	6·33	..	2·06	2·36
9. Madhya Pradesh-Ashta	1·24	..	..	..
10. Madhya Pradesh-Rajpur	19·58	19·93	3·73	5·27
11. Mysore-Mandya	1·18	0·42	2·37	1·84
12. Orissa-Bhadrak	..	..	6·58	..
13. Punjab-Batala	17·83	0·85	23·54	0·84
14. Punjab-Bhadson	28·45	6·30	0·74	..
15. Punjab-Sonepat	6·73	0·58	1·83	1·09
16. U.P.-Bhathat	27·18	4·17	4·16	..
17. W. Bengal-Md. Bazar	1·44	..	..	0·59
All	8·84	1·96	4·12	0·92

2

Different Activities

lation

activities

School Building (No.)	Drinking water well (No.)	Cooperatives actively working (No.)	Primary School (Started/ Improved) (No.)	Youth Club (No.)	Women's organisation (No.)	Commu nity Centre (No.)
6	7	8	9	10	11	12
0·21	0·00	0·41	0·28	0·00	0·01	..
0·12	0·31	1·12	0·52	0·11	..	..
1·39	0·21	0·12	1·01	0·11	0·01	0·24
0·22	9·07	0·90	0·19	0·37	0·03	0·34
0·14	0·29	0·92	0·14	0·50	0·15	..
0·57	0·79	0·42	0·33	0·32	0·32	..
0·41	1·06	0·73	0·26	0·06	0·01	..
0·07	0·66	0·28	0·19	0·08	0·02	0·14
0·10	0·92	0·29	1·22	0·01	0·01	0·34
0·54	2·02	0·36	1·01	0·57	0·11	0·47
0·12	0·29	0·18	0·04	0·13	..	..
0·75	0·46	0·31	1·35	0·29	..	0·33
0·16	1·40	1·02	0·54	0·29	0·04	0·18
0·29	0·69	1·35	0·99	0·27	0·10	0·05
0·16	0·72	0·50	0·24	0·18	..	0·33
0·02	2·08	2·03	0·04	0·02	0·04	0·29
0·13	2·39	0·56	0·80	0·41	..	0·08
0·29	**1.24**	0·62	0·43	0·18	0·04	0·14

TABLE

Extent of non-use, poor maintenance and

State—Project	Construction Activities							
	Kutcha Roads		*Pucca* Roads		School Buildings		Drinking Water wells	
	(a)	(b)	(a)	(b)	(a)	(b)	(a)	(b)
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
1. Andhra-Kakinada	0·0	0·0	0·0	0·0	0·0	2·8	0·0	0·0
2. Andhra -Nizamsagar	0·0	0·0	..	..	22·9	0 0	0 5	0·0
3. Assam-Cachar	0·9	0·6	0·0	0·0	0·0	8·9	0·0	9·5
4. Bihar-Pusa	1·1	2·8	..	..	0·0	0·0	0·0	0·1
5. Bombay-Kolhapur	0·0	27·9	0·0	0·0	0·0	0·0	0·0	0·0
6. Bombay-Manavadar	18·8	72·7	0·0	98·6	7·8	0·0	0·0	0·0
7. Bombay—Morsi	23·1	0·0	55·3	0·0	4·5	11·7	4·5	9·0
8. Madras-Erode	0·0	0·0	0·0	0·0	p·o	0·0	0·0	0·0
9. Madhya Pradesh-Ashta	..	..	..	..	0·0	0·0	0·0	0·0
10. Madhya Pradesh-Rajpu	0·0	3·9	0·0	0·0	0·0	14·9	0·0	0·0
11. Mysore-Mandya	0·0	0·0	0·0	0·0	38·4	32·2	0·0	68·4
12. Orissa-Bhadrak	0·0	0·9	..	..	0·0	0·0	15·6	0·0
13. Punjab-Batala	17·5	9·0	0·0	0·0	0·0	0·0	3·5	0·0
14. Punjab-Bhadson	0·0	0·0	0·0	..	0·0	0·0	0·0	0·0
15. Punjab-Sonepat	0·0	0·0	0·0	0·0	19·4	0·0	0·0	1·8
16. U.P.-Bhathat	3·2	1·6	..	..	0·0	0·0	2·3	11·2
17. W. Bengal-Md. Ba	..	..	0·0	0·0	0·0	0·0	10.3	24·7
All	7·4	10·1	3·5	6·7	2·9	5·8	1·0	2·3

(a) % of units in non-use inactive to total instituted;
(b) % of units poorly maintained to total units instituted ;
. . Stands for activity not reported.

3

inactivity by specific item

Irrigation Works		Institutions				
Non-use (a)		Inactivity (a)				
Wells	Tubewells	Youth Clubs	Women's Organisa-tions	Community Centres	Credit Cooperatives	Non-credit Cooperatives
10	11	12	13	14	15	16
..	..	100·0	65·1	..	27·7	22·5
..	..	38·2	..	..	19·2	55·9
..	..	9·6	80·4	3·9	29·0	100·0
0·0	100·0	10·8	0·0	0·0	25·7	23·1
0·0	..	2·1	32·1	..	5·0	8·8
1·4	..	22·4	3·3	..	0·0	71·5
24·0	..	24·3	55 0	..	11·6	0·0
..	..	3·5	0·0	0·0	10·6	39·2
..	..	0·0	0·0	10·1	8·5	0·0
11·3	..	21·1	54·8	10·3	0·0	15·4
46·6	..	48·7	..	..	0·0	0·0
..	100·0	34·1	..	5·4	0·0	0·0
2·3	100·0	4·1	0·0	0·0	0·0	0·0
0·0	0·0	44·0	0·0	0·0	0·0	0·0
0·0	0·0	56·7	..	0·0	5·2	33·7
22·1	0·0	0·0	77·6	0·0	0·1	0·0
..	..	0·0	..	94·3	13·7	..
9·3	56·7	27·0	33·3	13·6	12·9	30·2

APPENDIX I

List of Evaluation Centres

Name of Centre and State	Type of Project I Block
1. Kakinada—Andhra	3-block community peoject, 1952-53 series.
2. Nizamsagar—Andhra (Hyderabad) . . .	Do.
3. Cachar—Assam	Do.
4. Pusa—Bihar	Do.
5. Kolhapur—Bombay	Do.
6. Manavadar—Bombay	Do.
7. Morsi—Bombay (Madhya Pradesh) . . .	Do.
8. Erode—Madras	Do.
9. Rajpur—Madhya Pradesh (Madhya Bharat) . .	Do.
10. Bhadrak—Orissa	Do.
11. Batala—Punjab	Do.
12. Sonepat—Punjab	Do.
13. Chalakudy—Kerala	Do.
14. Bhathat—Uttar Pradesh	C.D. Block 1952-53 series
15. Md. Bazar—West Bengal	Do.
16. Bhadson—Punjab (PEPSU)	N.E.S. Block C.D. from April 1956.
17. Mandya—Mysore	Do.
18. Theog—Himachal Pradesh	Do.
19. Bassi—Rajasthan	N.E.S. Block C.D. Block from April 1955.
20. Asnta—Madhya Pradesh (Bhopal) . . .	Do.

NOTES.— 1. The name in brackets indicates the State in which the centre was located before Reorganisation of States.

2. The Study of Social Change was conducted in all Centres except Kakinada — Andhra, Bassi— Rajasthan and Bhadson— Punjab.

3. The Coverage Enquiry was conducted in all centres except Chalakudy—Kerala, Bassi—Rajasthan and Theog—Himachal Pradesh.